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JUDGE JOSEPH WILLIAMS.

BY HON. EDWARD H. STILES.

Of the early judges who have adorned the bench of the Supreme Court of Iowa the memory of none has been so keenly kept alive as that of the subject of this sketch. By reason of his strongly marked individuality, he was always a center of interest and observation with the people of his own time, and traditional influences have in great measure perpetuated that interest down to the present. Instances illustrating his unique traits, his versatile talents, his varied accomplishments, his keen sense of humor, his easy transition from the grave to the gay, his amusing anecdotes, his charming presence, his delightful talks, what he did and said on certain occasions, and even what others said about him, his strong sense of justice, his unbounded generosity, have been variously told and retold, orally and through newspaper and periodical for half a century. And while it is likely that some of these narrations and incidents were overdrawn, or fictitious, or colored by personal or political considerations, I am firmly of the opinion, that, taken altogether, the characteristics they exhibit largely account for the great popular esteem in which Judge Williams was held while living and the affectionate regard cherished for his memory since his death.

What I have just said is illustrated by an article which recently appeared in one of the newspapers of the State, in the course of which the author erroneously says, that of the boyhood and youth of Judge Williams but little is known. The article was evidently written in good faith; but some of the statements therein contained, to point out which

would serve no useful purpose, were founded on mere hearsay, which is not admissible in a court of justice even when only the most trivial rights are concerned, and in this case must have been without any foundation in fact upon which to rest, as I think will clearly appear from the considerations hereinafter presented.

It was my good fortune to become acquainted with Judge Williams when I was a young man, more than forty years ago. I have ever since been interested in his personality, and have intended for a long time to give my impressions of him, from both a personal and legal standpoint, to THE ANNALS. The spirit of history, whether of individuals or events, must be the spirit of truth, and in sketching him now, it is my endeavor to draw as true and faithful a picture of him as my poor ability and limited space will permit. He was born in Huntingdon, Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, as were his brothers William and Robert. The first of these became Major William Williams—a name as familiar as a household word in Iowa—who went with the United States troops in 1850 to establish a fort where now stands the city of Fort Dodge; who, after the troops removed, purchased the site upon which that beautiful city was built, laid out the town, gave it the name it now bears, and labored a quarter of a century in its upbuilding. Through the deeply packed snow-drifts of the trackless prairies, and in the face of the most difficult conditions, he led the troops that went to the relief of the settlers at the time of the Indian massacre at Spirit Lake, and was subsequently appointed by Governor Kirkwood to defend that frontier of the State. His daughter became the wife of another distinguished Iowan, whose name is closely identified with the history of the State, and whose services were invaluable in its development and in the moulding of its laws and institutions, that splendid gentleman, John F. Duncombe, one of the strongest lawyers and ablest men the State ever had.

The other brother mentioned, Robert Williams, also removed from Pennsylvania to Iowa in an early day and for

many years was an honored citizen of Muscatine, where he died some years ago. From the daughters and a son of Robert, still residing in Muscatine, and from the only surviving child of Judge Williams, Mrs. William C. Brewster of New York, I learn, through the kindness of Judge W. F. Brannan of Muscatine, whose name and long judicial services are well known to Iowa lawyers and whose high character is a perfect guaranty of the reliability of the medium, that Joseph was born in 1801; that he was the junior of William and the senior of Robert; that their father died in 1822, when Joseph was about twenty-one years of age, and that the latter had lived at home and under the direction of his father until that time; that the children were devotedly attached to the father and he to them, and that Joseph was always distinguished for his kindness and affection.

As to just what his educational training was I am unable to say. It probably did not reach beyond that furnished by the common schools, rounded off, perhaps, by a term or two at the Academy, but in any case it must have been reasonably good, judging from the correct and virile use he made of the English language in his published opinions, in his utterances from the bench, in conversation, and on all occasions; and judging also from the fact that he was deemed sufficiently equipped to enter as a law student, soon after his father's death, the office of Chauncy Forward, one of the most celebrated lawyers in Pennsylvania. In this office he found for a fellow-student Jeremiah S. Black, who afterward became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and later Attorney-General of the United States, and established an enduring national fame as a great lawyer and a great man. Between these two students there was formed a strong personal friendship that lasted and grew stronger to the end. For a number of years after their admission they were rivals in practice at the Somerset bar, one of the strongest in the state, and that Mr. Williams was considered a formidable one by Mr. Black will be clearly shown farther along.

It is proper to note that we now see Mr. Williams in a situation most favorable to legal learning and development; his school, the office of a distinguished lawyer; his instructor, that lawyer himself; his fellow-student and friend, one of the most talented young men of the nation. How could a student as bright and intuitive as young Williams fail to legally thrive under such circumstances? That he did thrive is shown by his years of successful practice in Pennsylvania before the President placed him upon the Supreme Bench of Iowa, and by the regard in which he was held as an able lawyer by such a distinguished man as Judge Black.

After the death of that great man, his daughter, Mary Black Clayton, prepared and published a book entitled "Reminiscences of Jeremiah Sullivan Black." In this she states that her father commenced to write an autobiography which was never finished, but from which she quotes as follows: "My competitors were exceedingly formidable men; half a dozen of them achieved great reputation in public life, and some of them were well known for their talents. I need not give you any extended account of them, but I will enumerate them and mention some of their characteristics". He then proceeds to mention, first, Chauncy Forward, next, Charles Ogle. I now quote from what the daughter herself says, which comes immediately after what her father has said of Ogle in the autobiography referred to:

The next person mentioned as a rival at the Somerset bar is Joseph Williams, afterwards Chief Justice of Iowa. Many years after they had lived together in Somerset, he called on the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania at a New York Hotel. Not finding him in, he left on his table the following:

"Salutations of the Chief Justice of Iowa to the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania.

"Oh, Jere, dear Jere, I have found you at last,
Now memory, burdened with scenes of the past,
Restores me to Somerset's mountains of snow,
When you were but Jere, and I was but Joe."

She then quotes from the autobiography what her father had set down therein concerning Judge Williams as follows:

"Joseph Williams was a practising lawyer whose ready tact was very dangerous to an opponent, and he was well up in the books. After he left Somerset he became Chief Justice of Iowa, and later he was a federal judge in Kansas. He never got over his fondness for fun, but he performed his judicial duties worthily and well for he was a sincere lover of justice. These are the men whose competition I had to face; my seniors and superiors in everything that makes practical power."

In 1856 David Paul Brown, the then great criminal lawyer of Philadelphia, prepared and published a book entitled "The Forum", contained in two volumes. His references were mostly to men who had gained a reputation at the bar. From pages 375 and 376, Vol. 2, I quote the following to show that Mr. Williams was regarded as one belonging to that class, as well as to illustrate Mr. Williams himself in the role of a practitioner:

Before Mr. Williams was appointed United States Judge for the territory of Iowa, he was defending a client in the interior of Pennsylvania, against the claim of a quack doctor who professed everything and knew nothing, and who had instituted a suit for surgical services, and had marked the suit to the use of another, in order to become a witness. The following was the cross-examination.

Mr. Williams—"Did you treat the patient according to the most approved principles of surgery?" Witness—"By all means—certainly I did."

Mr. Williams—"Did you decapitate him?" Witness—"Undoubtedly I did—that was a matter of course."

Mr. Williams—"Did you perform the Caesarian operation upon him?" Witness—"Why, of course; his condition required it, and it was attended with great success."

Mr. Williams—"Did you, now Doctor, subject his person to an autopsy?" Witness—"Certainly; that was the last remedy adopted."

Mr. Williams—"Well, then, Doctor, as you performed a post-mortem operation upon the defendant, and he survived it, I have no more to ask, and if your claim will survive it, quackery deserves to be immortal."

I have thus particularized, not only for the purpose of throwing light upon the personal history of my subject and properly sketching him, but to remove doubts which have sometimes been expressed by the uninformed as to whether a man so variously gifted that he could play the violin, the

flute, the fife, sing well, lecture entertainingly, tell funny stories, and charm every company he entered by his conversation and wit, could really have had the time or inclination to become much of a lawyer before he was elevated to the bench. I do not myself think he was a plodding student, or as described by Milton, "Deep versed in books, but shallow in himself;" but that he was a well equipped and well read lawyer, there can be no manner of doubt. Judge Black put it as we have seen, that he was "well up in the books." Certainly every lawyer and presumably every layman knows what that means. Not only this; Judge Black in the unfinished autobiography referred to, declares him to have been one of the most formidable rivals he had to contend with. The foregoing would seem sufficient to forever put a quietus upon any doubts that may have been entertained on the subject of his prior qualifications.

Let us now turn to his career on the bench. Upon the organization of the territory in 1838, President Van Buren appointed as the Judges of the Supreme Court, Charles Mason, Joseph Williams, and Thomas S. Wilson, Mason being named as the Chief Justice. As the subject of the length of service of these judges and their immediate successors seems to have been somewhat mixed in the different narrations, I will quote what Judge Mason says concerning this in a manuscript relating to the Bench and Bar and Leading Public Men of Early Iowa, which he was kind enough to prepare and send to me when he learned I was collecting material for future publication on that subject. Judge Mason says:

The first information I had on the subject was that the bill organizing the new territory had passed and that I had been appointed by President Van Buren, Chief Justice, with Joseph Williams of Pennsylvania and Thomas S. Wilson of Dubuque as my associates. We were all reappointed in 1842 by President Tyler and again in 1846 by James K. Polk.

Upon the organization of the state government in December, 1846, the condition of the parties in the legislature was such that it was found impossible to elect judges or senators, and accordingly under a provision of the state constitution, which had been adopted, the territorial judges

held over as judges under the state government. In May, 1847, however, I resigned my office and Judge Williams succeeded me as Chief Justice, the vacancy being filled by the appointment of John F. Kinney, as an associate. In December, 1848, the deadlock having been removed, senators and judges were elected and Joseph Williams thereby became Chief Justice with John F. Kinney and S. C. Hastings as his associates. A new election of judges was held two years later and Joseph Williams, as Chief Justice with John F. Kinney and George Greene as his associates, became the judges of our supreme court.

I must be pardoned for saying a word, *en passant*, of that tribunal as thus constituted. Charles Mason was a man of towering intellectuality; Thomas S. Wilson, though the youngest of the three, was a decidedly able and well trained lawyer, and Joseph Williams we have already had a glimpse of. They were all men of dignified bearing on the bench, typical gentlemen of the old school. I venture to state that not any of the numerous territories organized by the government, ever presented a court more prepossessing in character and appearance or more able and efficient in execution. Their services were invaluable in the formative period of Iowa and none of them should ever be suffered to lapse into oblivion.

Joseph Williams served as Judge of the Supreme Court from 1838 to 1855, a period of about seventeen years, and the last eight years of this period as Chief Justice, when he was succeeded by Judge George G. Wright. His opinions will be found in the Reports of Morris and Greene.

After my own connection with the Supreme Court as the Reporter of its decisions had been terminated, I prepared and gave to the profession a Digest of all the decisions of that court from the earliest territorial period to that time. It became my duty to digest with care every opinion that had been delivered and published in the Reports. And I can say without hesitation and with emphasis, that if there be any one who doubts that Judge Williams was a clear-headed and able judge, let him study that judge's opinions as closely as I did in the course of that work, and his doubts will be thoroughly dispelled. Taken as a whole, they dis-

play acumen, clearness, learning and force, and some of the more important ones, remarkable intuitiveness and wonderfully quick appreciation of the points presented and the conditions surrounding them. I personally know that this estimate has been held by some of the best lawyers Iowa has had. For instance, during a recent visit to Iowa, I met at Ottumwa my old friend and co-worker, William McNett, who is well known as one of the ablest lawyers of the State. In our conversation we touched upon Judge Williams. He thereupon remarked that he had in hand an important case in which was involved a difficult question; that to properly solve it he had gone to many decisions and authorities and at last had found one that went to the bottom of the matter and contained a clearer solution of the question involved than all the others, and this was an opinion by Judge Williams in Third Greene's Report. He also recalled an incident, of which we were both witnesses, that occurred at the opening of the Supreme Court room of the new Capitol at Des Moines. Many visiting lawyers were present. Among them was Judge Samuel F. Miller of the United States Supreme Court, the greatest constitutional lawyer the nation ever had, excepting, always, John Marshall. He made some remarks on the occasion, in the course of which he referred in the most earnest and touching manner to Judge Joseph Williams. He said he regarded him as one of the clearest, most intuitive, and best judges that had ever graced the bench of the Supreme Court of Iowa, and that his decisions had operated as an important factor in properly moulding the jurisprudence of the State. What higher compliment could any judge wish for than that?*

*NOTE.—Since writing the above I have received the following letter from Mr. McNett in reply to one I wrote him on the subject, which I deem it proper to set forth in this note:

MY DEAR STILES:

I have your letter of the 23rd instant. The case I refer to is the first case in 3 G. Greene, *Taylor v. Galland*, page 1, and the particular feature of the opinion to which I was attracted, will be found on pages 20 to 25 inclusive.

Here he considers and states one of the main important principles of the law of evidence, as I conceive it, in as clear and terse a manner as it ever has been stated anywhere. You will appreciate this by consulting the leading case of *Seitz v. Brewsters' Refrigerator Co.*, 141 U. S., 510.

I cannot recall with much distinctness what Justice Miller said about Judge

Of him Judge Mason says in the manuscript hereinbefore referred to, "Judge Williams was one of the most companionable and entertaining men I have ever known, and although perhaps not what would be termed a very close student, was a man of exceedingly quick parts and arrived at just conclusions as if by intuition."

In 1857 he was appointed one of the federal judges for the territory of Kansas and continued to act in that capacity until the state was admitted. He was also appointed by the President in 1863 judge of the court established at Memphis under military authority. In these positions his duties were discharged with ability.

I distinctly remember the announcement of his death before the Supreme Court in 1870 by Henry O'Connor, who was the Attorney-General of the State. In the course of his remarks, Mr. O'Connor said:

His character was above even the eulogy of gratitude. The simple story of his life is his highest eulogy. An able and learned lawyer, a just and upright judge, a patriot beyond the reach of suspicion, a citizen above reproach, an honest man, and a friend whom adversity did not frighten. It may be said of Judge Williams what can be said of few men, that he made a friend of every one with whom he came in contact and that he never lost one by desertion or neglect. His reputation and fame were national. The sunshine of life seemed to be in his keeping, and in every company of which he formed a part, he dispensed its light and warmth with a hand as lavishly generous as its sources were inexhaustible. He had no thought of the morrow, cared not what he should eat or wherewith he should be clothed. His faith in humanity was less only than his faith in God.

Judge George G. Wright on behalf of the court said:

By the aid of conversational powers unsurpassed, and social qualities which charmed and captivated the high and the low, the learned and the unlearned, and yet making no one the less mindful of the sacred duties and obligations of life, he made impressions which will last while the State endures, and left monuments which will remain so long as our judicial

Williams at the dedication of our new Supreme Court room, and do not remember, and have no data to refresh my recollection, as to just when that was.

I do remember of his speaking of Judge Williams in very high terms, as a man of culture and high legal attainments. He also spoke of his comprehensive grasp of legal principles, and the clear and terse manner in which he stated them in his opinions. I do not think there was any one of the Iowa judges to whom he referred in higher terms of praise and commendation than to Judge Williams.

Yours truly,

WM. MCNETT.

records shall be read. Such a life is a proud part of our State and professional inheritance.

A multitude of amusing stories have been told about him which will be reserved for a more appropriate occasion. I cannot refrain, however, from relating one that illustrates his kindness of heart, and another, the charm of his conversation and manners. This one is from Judge Brannan:

The term of the Supreme Court had closed at Iowa City, Judge Williams had paid his hotel bill and had left barely enough money to take him to Muscatine. Travel was then by stage and passes were unknown. A man whom Judge Williams did not know, came to the Judge in apparent distress and asked him to give him money to go to Muscatine, saying that it was necessary that he get there at the first opportunity. The Judge looked at him for a moment, put his hand in his pocket and handed him the money he needed for his own passage, and then proceeded to borrow the amount he had just given to the other man.

This is the other one. The appointment of the judges in 1838 was but for four years. When that period had expired John Tyler had become President by the death of General Harrison. As some opposition was being made to the reappointment, Judge Williams was sent to Washington to look after the matter. It was before the days of railroads and the way was made partly by boat and partly by stage. One morning in the latter part of the voyage he found seated opposite to him in the stage a handsome and charming lady. During the long journey they naturally became acquainted, or engaged in conversation. They were congenial and, in a social sense, mutually attractive, in so much that the Judge disclosed to her his name and the object of his visit to Washington; but when the lady reached her stopping place, Baltimore, and they parted company, the Judge had not learned her name and did not know who she was. After reaching Washington, he sought an interview with the President who received him with great cordiality, and proceeded to converse with him in the most affable manner. The Judge was embarrassed at this unexpected effusion and personal kindness, but after a while ventured to suggest the nature of his business. "Oh that matter has already been attended to and my

secretary will hand you your commission," said the President. "But," said Williams, after recovering himself sufficiently, "I should not want the position unless my associates were also reappointed." "Oh, that has been attended to also and their commissions will be handed you along with your own," said the President. "And, by the way," he resumed, "there is a lady acquaintance of yours in the next room who would like to see you." Whereupon the folding doors were opened and Judge Williams was led into the presence of Mrs. Tyler, who was delighted to meet him again. She had arranged matters in advance with her husband, the President, and the Judge went his way home rejoicing.

The fact is, Judge Williams, by reason of his great versatility, was a genius, and if time and space would permit, I could more thoroughly demonstrate it. It has been said that the drafts which genius draws upon posterity, although they may not always be honored so soon as they are due, are sure to be paid with compound interest in the end, and if I have in this limited attempt even faintly verified the truth of that statement, I shall be content. Joseph Williams was not only an able judge who served well the State, but a kind and compassionate gentleman, whose sweetly fragrant memory will be affectionately cherished by the few cotemporaries who still survive him, and by them and through their efforts be wafted to their posterity. Of him may be fittingly said what was said of Charles York, Lord Chancellor of England: "His moral and intellectual worth and legal renown, and, more than all, his gentle goodness and attaching qualities of heart, will shed a calm and placid light over his memory, like the pure ray of some distant star which the mists of earth for a time obscured from our view."

KANSAS CITY, MO., August 1, 1905.

NOTE.—Mr. Stiles, author of the foregoing article, was Reporter of the Iowa Supreme Court, 1867-74. See note on p. 624, Vol. III, 2d Series, ANNALS OF IOWA.

THE SIMON CAMERON INDIAN COMMISSION OF 1838.

BY IDA M. STREET.

(*Concluded from July Annals.*)

On January 8, 1839, Mr. Street writes more fully to Major Hitchcock as follows:

The cases of Messrs. Peon and Oliva will show the amount shaved off the sums allowed them by Mr. Broadhead; and I will add another case of a discharged soldier, named Vunk. I am unable to say how much Vunk was allowed by the commissioners, yet a reference to the name in their returns will show. This case of Vunk* is on the information of Mr. Sam Gilbert, a very respectable citizen of this place, and well known to you. Vunk came to this place, sometime in July, with a Winnebago squaw, who had a half-breed child born previous to the treaty of 1837, and lived in an old dilapidated house belonging to Mr. Lockwood, next door to Mr. Gilbert.

Vunk was subject to hard drinking, and told Mr. Gilbert he came to get a part of the \$100,000 given to half-breeds by the Winnebagoes for his child; that he had sold his claim to Mr. Broadhead, and would go as soon as the commissioners decided on the claim; that he was to get \$400, to be paid in Mr. Lockwood's store, and as soon as he could get it, he intended to leave the squaw and go off. Mr. Gilbert saw Vunk getting goods afterwards at Lockwood's, and V. came to T. P. Street's store with orders from Lockwood for goods. Vunk was frequently drunk, and about the time the commissioners left here, V. quit the place, leaving the squaw and child with the Indians; nor is it known where Vunk went. The squaw and child are dependent for food and clothing on their own exertions, and are with a hunting party of Indians on Turkey river. Every cent of the sum divided to this half-breed child is lost forever to the child; the claim, and the money paid to him he drank out or carried away, abandoning the squaw and the child to the care of her people. What good has this done a half-breed ?

There are doubtless many similar cases; but as most of the half-breeds live at Green Bay and the Portage, I have been unable to see them, and no information can be obtained by letter, for few of the half-breeds can write, and a letter would be carried to some trader, or to Boilvin, who is too much involved in the frauds to suffer any information to be given.

I am promised a few leaves from a docket, found in the quarters occupied by the commissioners here after their departure, which I

*This is Ponk on one list and Vark on another, and the amount is \$600.

will enclose if I can get them. On them may be seen, I am told, that every case to which Mr. Broadhead is marked as attorney for the half-breeds, is in the first class, and of course entitled to the largest amount. The classification of the claims was certainly, in itself, unjust, and at once furnished the means of the most shameful speculation. If there had been no classification, the half-breeds, ignorant as they are, could have counted up their numbers, and, by dividing the \$100,000 into that many parts, would see how much would be coming to each one; but placed in three classes, made by arbitrary distinctions unknown to the half-breeds, they and every other person (not in the confidence of the commissioners) were alike in the dark. Some of the first class were quarter-bloods, some still farther off, and some of the third class were full half-bloods.

The commissioners pretended to class them in proportion to their *ability to be useful to the Indians*; this, too, depending upon such information as they could get from Dousman, Lockwood, Boilvin, and Rolette; who are mostly engaged in the same speculations and impositions upon the half-breeds. Mr. Marsh, (a respectable merchant of this place) partner of Bugbee, said to me that he knew not many persons of the half-breeds, but that one, a minor, was allowed \$6,000, and, he understood, had sold his or her claim to Mr. Broadhead. Mr. Marsh further said, that when half-breeds first came to this place to attend upon the commissioners, the general opinion expressed by them was, that each one would get about \$1,000 of the \$100,000 to their share. They said there was about a hundred persons of the relations. But very soon he heard of the classification and the arbitrary rule of classing, by the commissioners—not on the principles of the laws of the United States, according to blood, but according to the possible usefulness that the person might be to the Winnebago tribe, to be judged by the commissioners, dependent on information obtained from the before mentioned *packed* source. This confounded all calculations amongst the relations and the whites (except those in the confidence of the commissioners) the initiated few. The consequence was, the relations who were in the *dark* were persuaded by Broadhead, aided by Dousman, Brisbois, Boilvin, Lockwood, etc., that they would get *very little*, and strongly urged by all these advisers to sell to Broadhead; and the same management deterred merchants and other capitalists from coming into contact with a man domiciled with the commissioners at private lodgings, who appeared the confidential friend and adviser of the commissioners, and, if he chose, could and occasionally did, let persons know the decisions of the commissioners long before they were known to any other person. So deeply were the half-breeds and many other claimants impressed with the belief that the commissioners and Mr. Broadhead were acting in concert, that they generally spoke of Mr. Broadhead as one of the commissioners.

One evening Mr. Broadhead came into a boarding house with the commissioners and sat for some time figuring on a paper, and exclaimed: "Not a bad business; they amount to \$60,000, which divided by *four*, gives \$15,000 to each—*not a bad business.*" Mr. Broadhead did not explain further, possibly as there were several other persons in the room; but Marsh suspected from all appearances, he meant himself, one or both the commissioners, and Messrs. Dousman and Lockwood; if the commissioners were concerned, Dousman, Broadhead, and the commissioners; if Cameron alone of the commissioners, then Dousman, Broadhead, Cameron and Lockwood made the four. Boilvin and Brisbois were evidently merely *used*, and found their account in the passage of such accounts as they laid in against the Indians, or got some small sop; and with this last class Lockwood may be numbered as being bought by something in proportion to their limited headpieces.

Mr. Marsh, though, thinks \$60,000 was too small an amount, if Mr. Broadhead purchased *all* the half-breeds; so he thinks there were four persons engaged in Broadhead's speculation, amounting to \$60,000, and that Dousman and Lockwood had made speculations separately. At this place I can certainly hear of but one case unsold;* that is a half-breed, named Mitchell, for whom Dr. Moore drew as agent, and the draft was placed in my hands by T. P. Street, to be used by me to refund some money advanced by me for Moore & Street, and assigned to Pratte, Chouteau & Co.; this is \$600.† The half-breed lives with Dr. Moore, and is about eight or nine years old. The case of Mrs. Campbell (late Sophia Palen) is drawn to Dousman, agent for Palen, or Campbell, and Dousman said is for \$600; and in my hearing he told Campbell he could let him have but \$300; for, said Dousman, "If I had not attended to your case you would not have got a cent." Moore and T. P. Street are merchants trading as Moore & Street.

The information given is, principally, from the following sources, to-wit: Peon's case from Mr. Peon, the father, and Mr. Oliva, all living here. Oliva's case from Oliva. The other cases given by Oliva. Vunk case, Sam Gilbert, Palen or Campbell's case, of my own knowledge; Campbell and wife, Lower Rapids. Broadhead's declaration of the \$60,000, Mr. Marsh, living here. The other information is from Mr. Marsh, and the general suspicions of the speculations of the commissioners from various persons here, who all seem to think that from all appearances B. and the commissioners were concerned and acted together.

The secretary, Mr. Featherstonehaugh, said that the commissioners did not care a fig whether the disbursing agent paid their drafts for expenses or not; Gen. Cameron had brought upwards of \$60,000 along with him, of his own money. Mr. B. made a similar

*That is, unsold to Broadhead.

† The exact amount in the award.

declaration in Mr. Boyd's presence. What could this \$60,000 be brought here for? And does not the amount strangely correspond with Mr. B.'s soliloquy about the \$60,000 divided by four making \$15,000—"not a bad business?" One thing is certain: \$100,000 was to have been distributed to the half-breeds. Drafts for the whole amount have been made and to whom? And who has the legal right over this large amount? The half-breeds? No. Mr. Broadhead, Mr. Dousman, Mr. Lockwood, etc. Some few thousand dollars in notes of a bank in Middletown, Penn., of which S. Cameron is cashier, were paid for these claims to half-breeds here; and I can hear of no other obligations even for the payment of any more here. This is a strange disappearance of \$100,000. Mr. Dousman said to me that there was not \$1,000 of the drafts for parts of the \$100,000 in Prairie du Chien, for they went to St. Louis on the same boat as the commissioners. Mr. Dousman further said today (8th Jan., 1839): "Major Hitchcock did wrong to suspend the payments, and he will be made to see it, and feel it, too. I have ordered all my cases to be protested legally, and have no doubt about it I will get the accounts and expenses of protest." This was said in my hearing, in presence of several gentlemen. At the same place in a conversation with Mr. Rolette, he said: "It would have been well enough to take security of persons to whom the money of half-breed minors was paid; for at St. Peters, in paying half-breed Sioux, some \$5,000 was paid to Stambaugh, but little of which will ever go to the half-breeds." I did not reply.

The request made in a former letter, that the information given should remain with *you only*, proceeded from a desire not to subject myself to the persecution it might raise, without any benefit to the half-breeds, and not from a want of evidence of the truth of the information. Now if anything can be done to obtain justice for the half-breeds, I freely give you leave to use whatever I have written, in such a way as may best subserve the cause of justice and right. To me it seems base and unpardonable, that men chosen by the president, and sent at a great expense so far, to see justice done to the Indians and to the half-breeds, should suffer such speculations to go on under their noses, as it were, by a lawyer coming with them from the same portion of the country they inhabit, and living all the time with the commissioners and in close intimacy with them. Even if the commissioners were not interested in the speculations, to suffer it, and in such a way, too, is monstrous. Yet, the only money paid out was the notes of the Middletown bank, of which Gen. Cameron is cashier; and his friend, the secretary of the commissioners, boasted Gen. C. had brought on \$60,000; and no other bank notes were flush about this place at this time, but miserable depreciated paper of Wisconsin.

I regret that Mr. Marsh went into the country and I failed to see him, as I expected today; when he promised, if practicable, to

get the leaves of the docket and hand them over to me. If I cannot see Mr. M. before the mail closes, they shall come in the next mail, three days hence. In my conversation with gentlemen here about the commissioners, they unite in an opinion that there was too close an intimacy between Mr. B. and the commissioners for them to remain ignorant of Mr. B.'s speculations; and they think Mr. B. knew too much of the state of their decision before being known to any other persons, for the commissioners to be free from some interest in the business carried on by Mr. B.; at least, such seems decidedly the case as to Gen. C. Mr. Murray is described as a nervous hypochondriac, of extremely singular manners, and of unequalled irritable mind, though generally distant and gentlemanly in his deportment. Public mind here seems to favor the opinion that Murray was innocent, possibly, of any pecuniary interest in the speculations; but, from his disposition declined prying into Gen. C.'s conduct, or thrusting himself forward as an upright man would have done to save a parcel of ignorant fellow creatures from being so cruelly fleeced by Gen. C. and Mr. B.

The half-breeds, too, thought there was no relief—the offers of Mr. B. or nothing. These were men sent by the president, stood high in his favor, and what they did would be approved. Besides, the Sioux commissioners came down at the time, and the whites who had been up to prey upon them, all united in approbation of the plan of classification, and some declared in my presence that this (the classification) was made in obedience to the orders of the secretary of war, which Mr. Dousman assured me he had seen. All this taken together by unlettered, ignorant half-breeds, brought them to the conclusion to take anything Mr. B. offered; for they considered it was that or nothing. Many had come more than 100 miles and remained here on expense for a long time, and had no money to pay; they were forced to sell to get away. The time taken to simply divide \$100,000 between less than 100 half-breeds was out of all reason, and there is no apology for making the half-breeds remain here until the claimants for debts should come in and their claims be decided upon. The half-breeds might have been acted upon, and their business completed in a few days; and yet, the commissioners kept them here, and their cases undecided, near 70 or 80 days. They did not even know what they were adjudged to receive until a few days before the departure of the commissioners from this place. When they learned (partially at last) how deep they had been shaved, they began to murmur so loud that Mr. B. in Peon's case, had to plank up \$300 in addition to the sum he had given him for the two claims of his children (two minors), who may or may not get the \$1,100 given by Mr. B.; yet the commissioners gave their certificate to pay Mr. B. \$3,200 for those two claims.

P. S. A few days past, Mr. Lockwood said he felt perfectly sure his part of the \$100,000 would be paid; for when the commissioners got to Washington, they would induce the Secretary of War to have all paid, for, said he, Mr. Broadhead has too deep a stake in the half-breed claims for the commissioners to see him suffer. I feel no fear for the event.

JOS. M. STREET.

The classification which Mr. Street so severely criticised was really in accordance with the instructions of the Secretary of War, as shown by the following from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Sioux Commissioners, and quoted to the Winnebago Commissioners:

"In determining the amount which each claimant (half-breed) shall receive, your attention will be directed to the following considerations: The degree of relationship, and the value and extent of services or supplies rendered to the Indians, or the capacity, disposition and intention, to render them in the future, as these constitute the entire foundation for this provision in the treaty."

There could be no objection, *legally*, to the classification. Nor do the Commissioner of Indian Affairs or the Secretary of War make any.

On November 19, Major Hitchcock writes to Mr. Crawford, stating that his duties as a distributing officer close at the end of the month, and asking for leave to come to Washington.

It is my wish to pay a short visit to my relatives and friends in Mobile, Alabama, where a short furlough was voluntarily relinquished for services in Florida in 1835, since which time I have been constantly and laboriously on duty.

In view of the preceding facts and considerations, I respectfully request that my continuance here be authorized until I can collect my vouchers, which periods I will terminate by my certificate on honor; and that then I be called to Washington to settle my accounts, with leave to travel by the way of Mobile on a visit of two months to that place.

Should you deem your own authority insufficient for this, I hope you will not think it unreasonable that I request you to apply to the Hon. the Secretary of War for the necessary instructions.

Very respectfully,

Yo. Obt. Servant,

E. A. HITCHCOCK,

Maj. 8th Infy.

Major Hitchcock's letters of November 6 and 8, called forth an order from Mr. Crawford that the payment of the half-breed claims be stopped. This is shown by Major Hitchcock's letter of December 3.

OFFICE DISBG. AGT. INDIAN DEPT.
ST. LOUIS, Dec. 3, 1838.

To

T. HARTLEY CRAWFORD, Esq.,
Commr. of Indian Affairs.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st ulto. directing that no payments be made from the fund for Winnebago half-breeds without further instructions and requesting me to communicate any further information I may have on the subject of the mode of payment directed by the late commission at Prairie du Chien.

Since my reports upon this subject, there has not been time to communicate with any one at Prairie du Chien; but I have a letter from General Street, dated at that place November 1st after the commission had left there and before he could have heard of any proceedings. General Street says, in reference to the Winnebago commission: "The course pursued by the commission has been very different from that of Mr. Fleming at Rock Island. From the statement of correct persons here the most shameful bribery and favoritism has been practiced."

In a matter of so much importance, involving the reputation of gentlemen honored with the commission of the government for the execution of a high trust and effecting the interests of many individuals who have confided in the integrity of the government agents, it is of the utmost consequence that nothing should be received as decisive to the prejudice of such interests without the fullest assurance of necessity.

I mention this consideration to show that I am aware of the responsibility under which I express my satisfaction with the order of the 21st ulto. and recommend that it be continued until definite reports can be received from the parties interested at and in the neighborhood of Prairie du Chien. There is, however, one claimant living in this city to whom I had sent the order of the 20th with the notice of my readiness to pay him in his own proper person. Should he make his appearance good faith will require me to make the payment. This I presume may be done without injustice to any one. Those who received drafts in their own right might also be paid the amounts awarded them, for they cannot be entitled to less, though it is possible they should receive more.

I have the means and shall employ them of procuring accurate

information from Prairie du Chien and the results will be reported without delay.

I am very respectfully,
Your Obedt. Servt.,

E. A. HITCHCOCK,
Maj. M. D. Agt.

There was a further effect of this complaint, for January 28, 1839, T. Hartley Crawford wrote to Hon. J. R. Poinsett, Secretary of War, objecting to the acceptance of the Commissioners' report. As to the excuse that they could not find books kept by the traders, he says, "other commissioners have found proofs and no difficulty imposed itself that was not overcome." He further shows that the traders who were to profit by this loose way of granting claims were the ones who suggested this method to the commissioners. In regard to the half-breed claims he says:

There is a vital particular in which, in my judgment, the instructions are not wholly violated, but which, if this branch of the report could be sanctioned, would divert \$100,000 from the quarter-blood Winnebagoes, and put it in the pockets of white men! The instructions point plainly to the payment of the money to the Indians, and if they did not, it seems to me the appearance by attorney in fact, and the granting of certificates to those representatives opened so wide an entrance to fraud that I cannot repress expression of my surprise that such a course should have been deemed proper. The money was to be paid to the respective persons entitled to it, except in instances of minors, orphans and incompetents. The execution of the treaty, in either its spirit or letter, forbade any other procedure, and yet, out of 92 Indians of mixed blood, the report shows that only 13 received certificates for their own money, either by themselves or parents; of the remaining 79, certificates were granted on 60 claims to attorneys in fact, and only 19 to trustees. Where was the necessity for these attorneys? Are they not assigners of these claims? I have no doubt of it. . . . The Indians probably received a mere pittance for undoubted rights, previously ascertained, about which no agency was necessary nor service required, and must not be deprived of the benefit intended them by the treaty.

This is endorsed by the Secretary of War and the statement is made that a new commission is to be appointed.

February 16, 1839, the commissioners present a defense, the chief point of which was that they had done exactly as

the Sioux commissioners did, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs had accepted those reports.

In reply to the charge of paying money to an attorney instead of to the half-breeds themselves, the commissioners say that as the half-breeds were not many of them present the money had to be paid to somebody and that the parties to whom they were paid were respectable. No facts are given, however, to prove how many half-breeds were really present. So that this excuse has no support in fact. Moreover, both Mr. Street and Mr. Merrell speak as if all half-breeds entitled to money were present.

The report says further:

Under ordinary circumstances, we should have thought that, in a new and wild country, the claimants were fortunate in being so respectably represented. But the commissioner says that they were assigners of the cases they represented. We ask, where is the proof to sustain this assertion? We have seen none. And here we take occasion to assert, in the most unqualified manner, that until after the awards were made in favor of the mixed bloods, and the certificates delivered, we had no knowledge that speculations had been made by attorneys in fact in those claims, and we challenge contradiction.

But, suppose the fact had been known to us; what power had we to prevent it? It may be said that we might have cut down the sum awarded to the sums paid by the speculators. But all cases, without exceptions, as far as we remember, were in the hands of attorneys in fact; and the instructions required that all the money should be distributed. Besides, if it was necessary to employ attorneys, it was also necessary that they should be paid.

This is certainly a naive defense and worthy one of the brainiest politicians of his time.

To the charge that they paid in certificates, they answer that the money was not there. It does not occur to them that they might have given the certificates to the half-breeds instead of the attorneys, and had the money sent up at once from St. Louis as they were going down there. Of course, the commissioners were ready to swear to anything to shield themselves. They produced affidavits from men in the west to the effect that Dousman and others concerned were hon-

est men. Dousman was a partner in the American Fur Company. He could find plenty of interested parties to swear for him. They also produced statements from men in the Indian country stating that the half-breeds concerned were voters and intelligent men and could sign away claims if they wished. And Simon Cameron obtained letters from his secretary, Mr. Featherstonehaugh, and Messrs. Satterlee Clark, Jr., and Mr. Boilvin, as to the justice of his awards at Prairie du Chien. These men were his partners in this business.

Mr. Boilvin says: "I have received letters from Prairie du Chien since I left; they all manifest their satisfaction of your proceedings with the exception of Major Boyd and T. P. Street, with whom the commissioners had some personal difficulties."

What these difficulties were does not appear from the letters on either side, nor is there any other reference to them.

By the way, this letter of Mr. Boilvin's is written in a good style and without mistakes in spelling or use of capitals, and is dated at Washington city, while one written by him to Thomas Street and given in this article verbatim from the original is of a different style. Could this letter have been written by a better scholar and signed by Mr. Boilvin?

In answering the question, "Who were the attorneys in fact?" the commissioners reply, "We have no list before us at present; but we are under the impression that they were men of the highest standing in the country—the attorney-general of Wisconsin (H. S. Baird), a lawyer of eminence from Mackinac, another from Philadelphia (Broadhead), a person holding a responsible employment under the War Department at Ft. Winnebago (Clark), and another at Ft. Crawford (Dr. Moore), and as well as we recollect, one or two intelligent and respectable merchants."

The list, however, shows that the attorneys in fact were Boilvin, Broadhead, Dousman and Satterlee Clark. Baird's name does not appear on the list; and Moore was trustee for one case only, that referred to by Mr. Street.

Major Hitchcock in defense of his action in not paying the money at St. Louis as demanded by the commissioners, says in a letter to the Department dated at Washington, March 12, 1839, that although he had not the money on hand for the purpose on September 11, he sent from another fund the money for the half-breed Sioux to St. Peters as there might not be another chance to transmit it. The Winnebago money had not come and he did not supply it, as he thought boats were going so frequently to the Prairie that it could be sent at any time.

He says in his instructions to Mr. Pfister, the special disbursing agent at St Peters, September 10, 1838:

The commissioners have been directed to decide upon the half-breed claims under the Sioux treaty, . . . it seems important that payment should immediately follow the decision; otherwise the claimants may disperse. . . . You will therefore place in the hands of Lieut. Whitehorn \$110,000 in specie, for payment, under 2d Par. 2d Art. of the treaty with the Sioux of 1837, advising him that it is the express directions from this office that no part of this money be paid to any proxy, to any person holding a receipt, or pretending in any manner to represent a claimant. That the money be paid only to a claimant in his own person, and then only on the requisition of the commissioners, countersigned by the Indian agent.

He knew that these conditions had not been observed at Prairie du Chien and he refused to pay attorneys or third parties. Mr. Cameron in his defense says that he cannot see how the money could have been distributed except through attorneys. Major Hitchcock, as distributing agent, seems to know how it could be placed through government paymasters in the very hands of the claimants. The commissioners do not seem to have had sufficient confidence in the regular officers of the Indian division of the War Department to trust any money to their charge. It would seem natural that men whose official duties kept them in the Indian country would know more about the half-breeds and to whom the money could safely be paid, than commissioners who had spent only two months there, and an attorney who lived in Pennsylvania.

While in Washington the winter and spring of '39, Major Hitchcock interested Horace Everett of Vermont in the matter. Mr. Everett, in the House of Representatives February 19, 1839, offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be directed to lay before this house a statement of the proceedings of the department in the execution of the 1st and 2d provisions of the 4th article of the treaty of Nov. 1, 1837, with the Winnebago Indians and copies of all correspondence relating thereto, and also a statement of any information received relating to any speculations or alleged misconduct of any person or persons employed in the execution of said provisions; and copies of all correspondence relating thereto.

Amended as follows:

And that the report made on the subject by the commissioners of Indian affairs and decision of secretary therein be referred to a committee.

Mr. Bell was chairman of this committee, and March 1, the papers were placed before them.

It is very natural that these men who had been caught in a scandalous transaction should attack their accusers. Mr. Street, who was only an Indian Agent, had nothing but his reputation as an honest man to back him. He practically stood alone at Prairie du Chien, which was little more than an American Fur Company trading post.

When feeling ran highest over the matter in Prairie du Chien, Major Hitchcock, in a letter from Washington to Mr. Street, dated March 17, 1839, says:

Your uninvited sentiments and views in relation to the proceedings of the commissioners has given you a standing in the opinions of both (Sec. of War and the Com. of Ind. Affairs). I took care to let them know that your first two letters to me—parts of which I have furnished—were the results of your individual feelings.

In your subsequent formal reports, which are on file and in course of printing by order of the *House*, you are severe upon sundry people about Prairie du Chien.

You and myself must sustain the brunt of the war against the corruptions at the Prairie, but we have the President, Sec. and Com. (of Ind. Affairs at Washington) and I verily-believe all of Congress to sustain us. We can afford to be assailed. As to the white claimants, I know nothing and have never said anything; but for the half-

breeds, my life upon it, they would get their money from the government.

I wish you to note down everything you learn in relation to the proceedings of the commissioners and to inquire for facts whenever you have a fair opportunity.

The commissioners have accused me of sending paper money 2 or 3 times under eastern exchange. They wish artfully to give out the inference that it was depreciated paper, which is false as you know. It was Mo. State Bank paper every dollar of it. They also accuse me of a wish to retain and use the money when they must know that I was so anxious to have the half-breeds of the Sioux paid that I sent the money to them without orders, assuming a great responsibility. They also handle very rudely my privately writing to you and my not furnishing my letter to Mr. Lowry. My letter to Mr. Lowry was public and I have put it on file. It will show the utmost consideration for the reputations of the commissioners. I expressly cautioned Mr. Lowry on that point.*

Congress has not organized the Indian Dept. and has not suspended the law relieving officers of the army and I have therefore written a letter signifying my wish to be relieved. I may have to return to St. Louis for a few months and will then try to go up to the Prairie.

He did return to St. Louis in the summer of 1839 as a letter dated St. Louis, June 11, 1839, shows:

I think I may assure you it will be impossible for your enemies to touch you. They have cut their own throats, especially Dousman. I believe I showed you his letter to me refusing information. I sent it to the Sec. of War, who cannot fail to understand the drift of the business. We are both of us to be abused by the defeated party, but the cause of truth and justice must prevail and we shall be sustained.

I enclose also a copy (on no account to be used until I see occasion) of a letter to Mr. Buchanan. I have the information principally from Bailly in writing and I have printed the letter for the mere convenience of sending a few copies to friends, holding the balance in reserve for the members of Congress the next session, in case I shall think proper. . . .

I was told that *Marsh*† intended denying what he said to you. If it comes to a mere point of veracity between you and him or you and any one at the Prairie, you must triumph. They said things unguardedly and have forgotten what they said or have been induced to deny it by those interested, if not interested themselves. Keep this view in mind and be cool in any answer you may make.

*Mr. Lowry proved a turn-coat, as shown by later letters.

†Formerly sub-agent at Prairie du Chien.

When aroused by an act of injustice, Mr. Street's indignation glowed at white heat, and he was liable to do rash and impolitic acts. Hence Major Hitchcock's injunction to keep cool.

What Marsh intended denying as stated in this letter, was explained in a letter from Agent Street to the *Missouri Republican*, July 25, 1839:

I presumed he [Dousman] had engaged with Mr. Broadhead in purchasing half-breed claims, as B. in a soliloquy had spoken of "\$60,000 divided by four makes \$15,000—no bad business."

Although Mr. Marsh certifies he was too sick to be at Taintor's tavern during the stay of the commissioners at Prairie du Chien and that, in our *social conversation* he had not mentioned Mr. B.'s soliloquy, no one will for a moment believe that I manufactured the statement. I will not be positive, but I think Mr. M. told it as coming from some person boarding with Taintor at the time.

I appeal to the returns of the Com'rs to sustain the opinion I have put forth in relation to the half-breed claims, and to the evidence I have in my correspondence adduced, and which is not *denied*.

Apropos of Mr. Dousman's connection with this affair, Gen. H. H. Sibley, formerly an agent for the American Fur Company, says in his memoirs of Hercules L. Dousman, in the Minnesota Hist. Coll. Vol. III, p. 197, that the Hon. Simon Cameron when acting as Commissioner to settle the debts of the Winnebagoes received material aid from Mr. Dousman in settling these accounts. He also quotes a eulogy on Mr. Dousman which Senator Cameron delivered upon the floor of the Senate.

Major Hitchcock also says in the letter of June 11, "Gen. Brooke is not pleased with your inference that Dousman had been talking with him about the money, but you only gave opinions and could not have intended disrespect."

It appears from a letter to Thos. Street from J. M. Street that he thought Gen. Brooke was to blame for sending the money intended for the half-breeds back to St. Louis. It will be remembered that he speaks of Gen. Brooke coming into the office of McKissack with Dousman, when the money was delivered to the quartermaster.

Agent Street says:

As to Gen. Brooke I have every respect for him as a brave soldier and feel pained that he happened to be mentioned in such company. Yet in giving the details of fact, as to the disposition of the \$100,000—it became necessary to screen a subordinate officer into whose hands I paid the money, from censure in taking the money to St. Louis which had been ordered to be disbursed at Prairie du Chien, and was turned over to him, to be disbursed (under Major Hitchcock's instructions to Doc. Reynolds) which instructions I handed with the money. I certainly did not intend any disrespect to Gen. Brooke, but detailed the facts as he and Mr. McKissack will remember they occurred. In giving my supposition on the facts, if I *erred* I regret it as to Gen. Brooke. Though if he ever makes oath that he was not operated upon by Mr. D. in the order to Mr. Mc. from what cause did he give that order? The Sec. of War ordered the money to be disbursed to half-breeds and agents at Prairie du Chien. Major H. sent it for that purpose to P. du C. and I paid it as money belonging to the Ind. Dept. to the Quarter Master and the Military Commander directed the Qr. Master to take the money back to St. Louis. And Gen. B. and Mr. D. coming together induced my conclusion. Now was not this a natural conclusion when Mr. D. had just been with me endeavoring to induce me to send the money to St. Louis, which I refused. And how did Gen. B. know I had brought the \$100,000 and *that* the money, the \$100,000, I was paying to Mr. Mc.? I had only arrived a few hours before, and went to Mr. Mc.'s office and for the first time disclosed the fact to him a few minutes before; gave him Maj. H.'s letter and proceeded to pay over the money. How then could Gen. B. know what money it was, and why send it back to St. Louis if not induced to do so by some information from Mr. D.?

The fight did not stop with the adjournment of Congress, as shown by the following letter from Thos. Street to his father, August 5, 1839.

Dear Father:

Since my last letter to you I have heard some matters which are important to you, particularly in the controversy between Dousman, Lockwood & Co., and yourself.

Gov. Horner (John A. Horner, late Sec. of the Ter. of Wis.) came here a few days since and in a conversation with me informed me that Maj. Hitchcock had written a letter to a friend at Green Bay last spring, requesting that friend to collect evidences of fraud in the settlement of the claims by the Comm'rs, Cameron and Murray, and that this person had employed Horner to take 5 or 6 affidavits wh. were sent to Maj. Hitchcock some time since. The affidavits

were from half-breeds at Green Bay and go to charge *Boilvin*, Broadhead, and the Com. with improper acts, implicating also H. L. Dousman in a positive manner as a speculator.

One was the affidavit of Jos. Pauquette, a relation of the late Pierre Pauquette; the substance was as follows: Boilvin came and told him that he had better sell to Broadhead, that the money would not be here for a long time, that the half-breeds would all be classified and the probability was that he would get but little unless he sold, and he finally agreed to take one-fourth, which was about \$1,000 or \$1,500 for [in place of] about \$4,000 or \$4,500. He (Pauquette) was then sent to Dousman, who paid him the money, principally, if not entirely, in his Wisconsin Bank notes. He then made a power of attorney authorizing Broadhead to receive the money which should be awarded to him and went before Messrs. Cameron and Murray in company with Broadhead. The power of att. was exhibited, the matter talked over and Pauquette was informed that all was right by the Com'rs themselves. The other affidavits state something near the same thing though as I am informed stronger matters. . . .

Dousman, Lockwood and all hands are waiting for the Comm. (Mr. Fleming) who has not yet arrived; they are now too busy to say anything further on the *claim* subject or against you.

As stated in the report of the Secretary of War in January, 1839, a new commissioner was appointed to look over the half-breed claims. This was Mr. Fleming, who had acted as Commissioner in the Sac and Fox adjustment the year before. There had been no complaint then; with Agent Street and George Davenport at Rock Island he had been guarded from the kind of temptation that would assail him at Prairie du Chien. Mr. Street in a letter to his son, September 6, 1839, says:

Fleming is a correct and clean man and will do what he thinks right.

And in another place:

Dousman is a wily dog and will deceive Fleming if he is not guarded. I suspect Maj. Hitchcock is at Ft. Winnebago on a court martial and will be at Prairie du Chien (when the Com. arrives). He is a sterling man and can be depended upon.

Now from what source could Dousman obtain the remark as to my expecting the Com. appointment? I never did; nor could anything I said be so construed.

Mr. Street was wrong in his suspicion that Major Hitchcock would be at Prairie du Chien when Mr. Fleming was

there. Whether Major Hitchcock was at Ft. Winnebago in September, and did not stop at Prairie du Chien on his way down I have no means of knowing, but the commission closed this sitting October 14, and October 17, Major Hitchcock writes from Washington to Mr. Street:

My Dear General:

I had a long conversation today with Mr. Crawford and took occasion to speak of the efforts made by your enemies to injure you. Being myself acquainted with some of the particulars, I went into detail and had the pleasure of hearing Mr. Crawford express his entire satisfaction. I told him the circumstances relative to the \$100 referred to by Lockwood, for I very well remember the matter, as General, then Colonel, Taylor explained it to me four or five years ago. I also explained the particulars regarding the Sac and Fox half-breed money and told him the bond was in his own office, which could speak for itself. I am confident you have no occasion to give yourself a moment's concern. It is doubtless unpleasant to have the papers bandying one's name about, but I have heard numberless people speak of the Winnebago affair and of the part you took in it, and at the same time sneer at the efforts made to injure you, and have never heard a single individual express a doubt of your integrity. The only wonder expressed in regard to the business was that you had the courage to brave a parcel of sharpers who "as a matter of course" would attack you.

The following account of the new Commissioner's proceedings is interesting, as showing how futile "investigations" were; not very different from some of them now:

PRairie du Chien, Oct. 28, 1839.

Dear Father:

The commissioner Mr. Fleming closed his business on the 14th inst. and left that evening for Washington or home. He re-examined the half-breed claims, made his award, and had the money paid to each person entitled to receive it. Broadhead's brother received the amounts paid last year with an average advance of 15 per cent. In the claim* cases he received and filed such as were presented together with the evidence and determined not to decide upon them here, but took them with him for the purpose (as I suppose) of submitting them to the Com'rs of Ind. Affairs before he makes his decision. This I do not know, as I do not think he made known his intention with regard to them. Having now stated briefly the heads of the matter I proceed to particulars.

The most of the claimants in both cases arrived here early in July and waited anxiously for Mr. Fleming until nearly the last of

* Traders' claims.

that month, when a notice was received and posted up, stating that he would be here and ready to commence business on the 6th of Aug. He did not, however, arrive until about the middle or last of that month. As soon as he came he commenced receiving claims in the half-breed cases and continued that matter until it was finished, or the awards were made. It then became necessary to wait a few days for the Indians to come in, and that interval was employed in receiving debt claims, and receiving proof, etc. On the 16th of Sept. the Indians assembled at the office of the Comr. and the half-breed business was resumed by submitting the names of each half and qt.-breed on the list to the Indians separately. They agreed to all on the list except 3 or 4 who they declared were not their relations, and not entitled to receive money. These cases were Kuthoko, Caroline Harney, her daughter, Mary Gunn and one other that I do not now recollect. The Com., however, in making his award afterwards included these persons. I presume he had proof enough to satisfy his mind, notwithstanding the desire of the Indians. It may be well here to notice an incident which occurred this day (Sept. 16) in the council. So soon as the Com. explained to the Indians the object for which he had assembled them, one of the chiefs arose and made a speech, the substance of which was that Boilvin was appointed by them last year to look after their interests. They wished him to do so this year, and they desired the Com. to give them a list of the names of all the half and qt.-breeds that they might get Boilvin to look over and read it to them, and they would assemble again tomorrow and settle the business. The Com. replied that if they demanded such list he felt bound to give it to them and they might get Boilvin or any other gentleman to read it to them, but strongly urged upon them the propriety of acting on their own judgment, and to beware of the influence of each and every person in settling the matter. After a few minutes of reflection they waived the demand and proceeded to pass upon the names as read by the Com. The Comr. took no notice at that time of the request that Boilvin should act.

From the 16th of Sept. to the 28th was taken up in classifying and arranging the amount due to each person. During this time there was much maneuvering. I have seldom seen a time of more excitement according to the number of persons here. Broadhead's brother John H. was using every means to get [back] the money paid out by his brother; sometimes endeavoring to intimidate the claimants by threats of legal process; then coaxing, and all the time in perfect fever. Boilvin was busy, Lockwood was hanging to the skirts of every claimant that passed his door. Several others were assisting. The general outcry among this party was "Pay Broadhead or he will make you suffer severely for it." At this time was it that Mr. Fleming issued a notice requiring every claimant who

had received an award last year to produce and give up the certificate issued in his or her case by the Com. Cameron and Murray, or failing to do so no money would or could be paid to them. Then commenced the triumph of Broadhead and the party; the whole matter was in their own hands, they could laugh securely at the puny efforts of the claimants and the counselors. The claimants, however, did not yield without some struggling. The most of the claimants from Green Bay assembled, directed their lawyer to draw up a protest against the notice and requisition of the Comrs. and set forth therein the fraudulent manner in which their claims were obtained. This paper they signed after it had been fully explained to them, but 2 or 3 days after being intimidated by Broadhead and others, and the arrival of the deputy marshal of the territory (whom Broadhead had sent a special messenger for to Mineral Point) and the pending of the Comrs. notice the combination of circumstances was too powerful—they gave up the unequal contest, desired their lawyer to withhold the protest and most of them had their names erased, and finally all settled with Broadhead on the terms stated in the first part of this letter. For the Green Bay portion see paper herewith marked "A"—drawn up by John S. Horner. For the portion of half-breeds near Rock River and elsewhere see paper "B" drawn up by John Catlin, which met the same fate ultimately.

We now come to the 28th Sept. (Saturday). This day the payment of the half and qt.-breeds commenced. It was made in the office of the Am. Fur Co. by Mr. Haverty—Dis. Agt., in presence of the Comr., Gen. Brooke, Mr. Lowry and some others whom I do not know. The room next the office was filled with persons of the *proper kind*, to-wit, Boilvin, Clark,* Broadhead and Co. Broadhead received his money as before stated; the persons who were of what we call the other party or opposed to the cheats and frauds of Broadhead contented ourselves perforce in walking about the store room and casting a wistful look at some fellow as he passed out with a box or bag of dollars in his arms. The payment was not finished this day, but postponed to Monday, Sept. 30. That day there appeared the following notice on the counter of the store: "Gentlemen are requested not to come inside the counter." We had therefore to remain outside still more remote from the scene of action. Some fellows passed in, however, who I suppose considered themselves *loafers*, not gentlemen. Same arrangement in inner and outer rooms as first day. Same persons present. This day Dr. Moore rec'd the award of Mary Ann Mitchell, \$1,000, by giving security—he had previously filed his indentures of apprenticeship.

Oct. 1. Payment continued this day and finally closed. This morning they adjourned to the Com. office to finish. A great dispute arose between Broadhead and Boilvin. Boilvin had taken Mad.

*Satterlee Clarke, Jr.

Myotte's certificate last year, had sold it to Broadhead, received the money, used it, and now wanted Mad. Myotte to come forward and claim it *herself* and not let Broadhead have it. So soon as she would have obtained it, Boilvin intended to go to her and take it, and then realize a double portion. Broadhead kicked up at this; here was rogue to rogue opposed and a hard time they had of it. But Broadhead was too hard for Boilvin. The Com. called Boilvin up and under oath examined him as to his claims upon the money and asked him whether Mad. Myotte owed him; this took him aback, and he was *unprepared* and stammered out some almost unintelligible words,—in fact, he stood convicted of falsehood and knew not what to do or say. Those few moments while under examination must have been exquisitely painful to him. The matter was finally settled by the commissioners determining to carry the money to Washington and end the dispute there.

From this time forward a change came over Boilvin's spirit. Dousman and he quarreled. D. told B. he was a liar. B. retorted by calling D. a liar. They bartered such like epithets for a short time, but the affair "came off" *bloodless* and I presume neither much *worsted* in character. It reminded me of a somewhat vulgar saying about a pot and kettle. A few days after this (the Comr. had now commenced examining debts) an affidavit subscribed by old Menard, one of the persons who had an award last year, was filed with the Com. The substance of which was that Boilvin had cheated him out of nearly if not quite half his award; that Mr. B. told him the draft was only so much—being only half the real amount, and that B. took M. to Lockwood's and there sold L. the draft, and L. gave M. a note for the one-half. Both L. and B. told M. that the amount of the draft was only one-half what in reality it was. I regret my inability to send you a certified copy of this affidavit now, but will in a few days, as I consider it important. . . . This affidavit remained a few days in the Com. hands; on the 10th of Oct., however, Boilvin, John Kinzie and others of that same class were seen to talk earnestly with Menard, shortly after which M. and Boilvin came to the Com. and asked to withdraw the affidavit. Menard stated that he was unwilling to prosecute his claim further and wished to withdraw his affidavit and stick to the award of last year. The Com. consented, handed him his affidavit and Menard left the house, frightened almost out of his senses. Boilvin had told him that the charges contained in the affidavit were such as would subject him (Menard) to a suit for defamation of character and heavy damages, the old man was pale with fright. The die was cast, however, the party had determined to sacrifice Boilvin, too much fraud had been developed. A scape-goat was necessary, and by common consent they pitched upon Boilvin. A few days after the quarrel with Dousman, Antoine Grignon (the company's interpreter) served out a writ of attachment against Boilvin for \$1,690, being a part of

the \$2,000 given to Grignon under the treaty of Nov. 1, 1837, and the same matter about which the quarrel arose between B. and Dousman. The sheriff went to Taintor's and took all Boilvin's trunks and *even* his wife's trunks of clothing (Mrs. B. was here all summer). After overhauling them the sheriff gave them back to his wife, as they were found to contain no money or property value. This was a *finisher*. Boilvin at last found he was to be the victim and gave up the contest. Next day he took a steamboat to St. Louis in company with his wife, and I now take leave of him. Possibly he is now convinced that honesty is the best policy and that there is such a thing as retributive justice. . . .

The Com. continued several days longer to receive claims and proofs, several new ones were introduced. Several of the claimants of last year still refused to put in their claims and finally refused; to-wit, R. Stuart (claim of old Am. Fur Co.), Dousman (for present company), Rolette, the Brisboise, Pauquette's estate (Dousman was executor). Lockwood and some others being the persons who received the highest sum last year, in fact about 2-3 the whole amount set aside by the treaty. These claimants who constantly refused to have their claims re-examined were constantly working with the Indians. Everything was tried, no stone left unturned, to prevent the Com. from proceeding in his examination, and at length they succeeded, the spell worked and the Com. abruptly closed on Oct. 14. And the commissioner himself left on a steamboat accompanied by Stuart, Kinzie & Co. At Galena he took the stage and returns to N. York by the Lakes.

Some days before the close of the debt claims examination, the Indian chiefs assembled at the Com.'s office and One-Eyed Decorah rose and said that the nation was glad that Mr. F. had come on and examined the half-breed claims, that their half-breeds were pleased with his awards and felt *proud*, that he had done what was right and they were glad. "But," said he, "we do not wish you to examine the debt claims. 2 Com.'rs were sent here last year and examined our traders' claims, they also did right. We want our traders paid, and we do not wish you to 'tear to pieces' what they did last year in the traders' claims."

He then handed the Comr. a paper tied together with blue ribbon and a string of wampum, saying, "Here is a paper that contains our thoughts; read it and take it on with you to our Great Father; this is all I have to say."

The paper was then read and proved to be a sort of protest against the re-examination of the traders' claims and a full and complete ratification of those acts of Cameron and Murray. It was signed or purported to be signed by the chiefs in the presence of Mr. Lowry and Nicholas Boilvin.

Several persons present and particularly the new claimants were extremely anxious to have the claims re-examined and asked Mr. F.

to allow them to propound questions to the chiefs in order to ascertain by whom they had been advised to present such a paper; which was allowed. Two or three questions were asked which were answered evasively by the chiefs. Wacon Decorri then got up to speak, repeating pretty much what had been said before, though he went on and was about to let the cat out of the bag. This I saw and was highly delighted.

Just at this moment, however, Boilvin became uneasy and moved across the room and whispered to an interpreter to tell Wacon to stop and as they had now finished their business to go away immediately or leave the room.

Accordingly, Wacon stopped short, saying, "This is all I have to say," and in a few minutes away went the Indians. The interpreter referred to is A. Grignon and I got the statement of what Boilvin whispered from him. It was somewhat surprising to me that Mr. F. would permit such a thing, if he saw it, and I do think he must have seen it. Mr. Lowry did, I am certain.

Two or three days before Mr. F. closed he was asked by Col. Stambaugh, counsel for some of the claimants, to let him see a protest which Col. S. had heard was on file in the office. After some time Mr. F. consented; the paper was produced and appeared to be a lengthy protest signed by Stuart, Dousman, Lockwood and several others against the re-examination of the traders' claims.

It was addressed to Mr. F. to be laid before the Sec. of War and was, I am told, somewhat abusive of that officer, for the course he had taken in appointing a new Com. and setting aside the report of last year. Stambaugh tried to get a copy, but could not. A committee was appointed to wait on the Com. and ask a copy. The committee addressed him a note, but he refused in a written reply. The reasons he gave I do not now recollect, but I do not think they were at all satisfactory. It seems the protest had lain in his hands since the middle of August or thereabout and would never have been shown had not Stambaugh called for it.

It is my opinion that both Mr. F. as Com. and Mr. Lowry as sub-agent were too much influenced by the power and authority of the Am. Fur Co., its agents and hangers-on. And also it seemed to me that the Com. was anxious to save Broadhead and if possible the commissioners of last year.

This he could not in fact do; because in the re-examination of the half-breed matter he must have seen the fraud, and his award has been different in almost every case from that of last year. Now one or the other is wrong. Either the old Com's acted improperly or Mr. F.; they can't both be right. I, as well as the claimants themselves, choose to think that Cameron and Murray were wrong. There was much intimacy between Mr. F. and several of the persons concerned in the Co., but I hope and believe Mr. F. is still a

correct and honest man. I took no sides for him or against him. When I spoke of him it was always in high terms from my slight acquaintance. Mr. F. continued to speak highly of you and seems to have a regard for you. What impression is made on his mind, however, by the many stories he must have heard, I know not. He desired me to present his best regards to you when I wrote and wished much that you had been here during his session.

Of Mr. Lowry I am compelled to judge harshly. I had supposed he would make an independent, active, and energetic sub-agent. Activity he does not lack, but he is too subservient to the A. F. Co. He has, in my opinion, scarcely any opinion of his own, but runs to Dousman for his. When Boilvin came on, he took him by the hand, had him to assist him, sent him on expresses for Ind. in the country and gave him consequence and countenance, though there was no earthly reason for it, and he knew well Boilvin's character and actions. Other persons of far less exceptionable character might have been found who would have answered as well if not better. Had Boilvin been a stranger it would have been different. But Mr. Lowry said that the company and Broadhead still countenanced Boilvin, and he thought it was therefore to his interest to do so. He was too short-sighted to see that there would be a blow up in the end, that rogues would quarrel. It is disagreeable to animadvert thus severely on Mr. L., but I am certain there is reason for it, and he has not gained much credit among the lookers on by his course. I have heard much said of his want of firmness. The opinion entertained by the most disinterested of the persons here this summer is better expressed in the Galena paper which I send herewith. The writer I do not know, but that he states facts I do know. I send you also a copy of a letter from Lowry to Broadhead; on this I leave you to comment. I am still friendly to Mr. L., nor has any difference occurred between us. I have occasionally spoken of some of his acts to himself in a disapproving manner, he endeavored to explain and the matter passed.

Col. Stambaugh (of St. Peters) as agent for 10 or 12 claimants has written a lengthy protest against the confirmation of the report of Cameron and Murray in the debt cases. He read it to me. It is well written and accompanied by a good deal of evidence. I regret that you could not see it, but its great length prevented me from getting a copy. Col. S. expresses much friendship for you; how true his professions are I know not, but he seems sincere. I desired him to advise you of and assist if he could in case anything was doing against you. He will be in Washington all winter and told me he would attend to your interests as far as he could.

I think it is the intention of Broadhead, Cameron, and Murray, and all that party to do all they can this winter. In expectation of this I have spoken to a friend or two here to ask the half and

qt.-breed claimants to give an expression of opinion for you. I was present when the two papers were signed. The Green Bay half-breeds signed the one in which Col. S.'s name is interlined. They wished it so. The others signed another of the same kind leaving out Stambaugh. This they did with pleasure. They spoke highly of you and with feelings of gratitude for your disinterested course; see here Stephen Mack's separate letter—he is a good man. The half-breeds are your friends and what is more no one can now change them, they are convinced by too powerful proofs. The money they received this summer in silver they looked upon as having been obtained through you and Maj. H. and they will so consider it no matter who says to the contrary, nor will they be made to say anything contrary if they only understand it. . . .

I send two affidavits about Lockwood which show how bare-faced a liar he is—how unprincipled a villain. I think, too, that the statements in Horner's protest show that H. L. Dousman knew more about the speculations than he was willing to admit. If I understand the matter right he seems to disregard truth entirely in his publication which I send you. . . . It is time to close this long and desultory letter. I have endeavored to give you a statement of what took place as well as I could from memo's which I kept and without much regard to perspicuity; however, if you have time, it will serve to give you some idea of the matter and may be useful. . . .

Yr. Sincerely Aff. Son,

T. P. STREET.

This closes the Simon Cameron Commission case, so far as I have documents bearing upon it. The papers mentioned by Thos. Street in his letter are not now in possession of the family. I have let the letters tell the story from the point of view of my grandfather and his friends, not so much to vindicate him in this particular proceeding—for his connection with it was but slight compared with the storm of abuse he aroused at the time—as to show the readers of American history to-day how poorly the Indians have been protected by commissioners appointed by this government.

CONSTANTINE SAMUEL RAFINESQUE— A SKETCH.

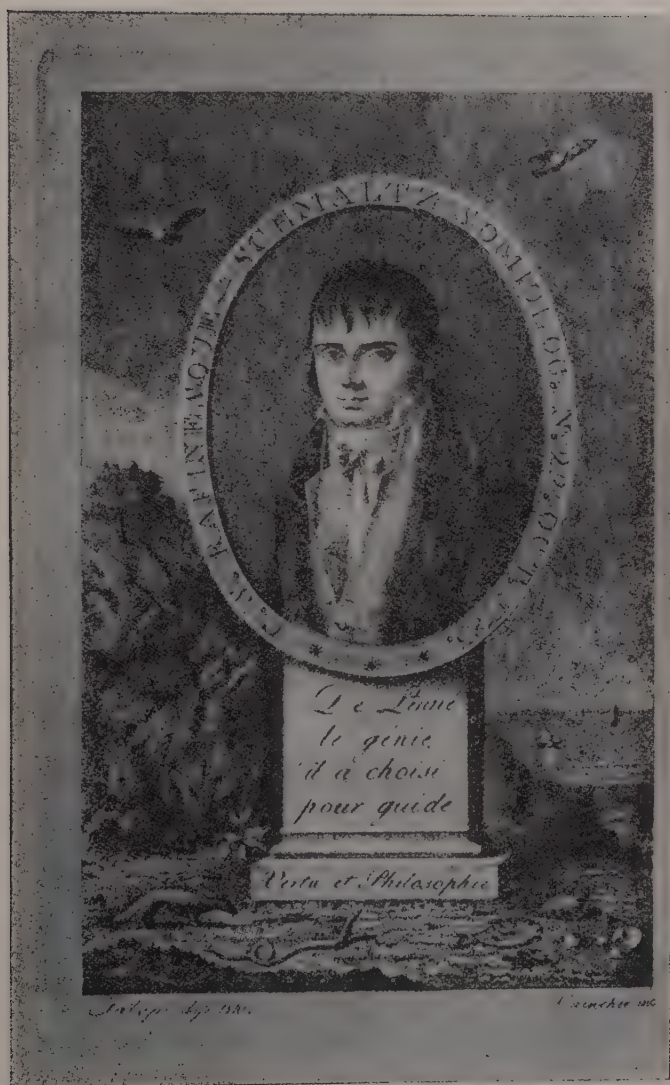
BY T. J. FITZPATRICK.

In a suburb of Constantinople, called Galata, C. S. Rafinesque was born in the year 1783.* His father, G. F. Rafinesque, was a native of Marseilles and of French origin. His mother, M. Schmaltz, was a native Grecian but of German extraction. Therefore truly it may be said, as has been alleged, that C. S. Rafinesque was a Franco-German by blood and a Turko-Grecian by nativity.

G. F. Rafinesque was a member of the firm of Lafleche & Rafinesque of Marseilles and had charge of the branch office of the firm established at Constantinople in order to secure trade from the orient. The fact that the mother of Rafinesque was a native Grecian has given color to the statement that his mother tongue was modern Greek. French, however, seems to have been his means of communication in early life in spite of the fact that his infant lisplings may have been in the Greek vernacular. While still an infant he was taken by his parents to Scutari in Asia and a short time later by sea to Marseilles, stopping on the way at Smyrna and Malta.

Marseilles remained the home of Rafinesque and his mother for several years, although his father returned to the Levant and remained for two years engaged in trade. Our subject states that he first became conscious of his existence "in one of the numerous country seats which surround and beautify the neighbourhood of Marseilles, where they are called *Bastides*. It was there among the flowers and fruits that I began to enjoy life, and I became a Botanist. Afterwards the first premium I received in a school was a book

* The date given by Haldeman in "American Journal of Science," Vol. 42, p. 280, is October 22, 1783. Rafinesque does not give the date in his "Life of Travels," but one may infer from the text that the year was 1784.



PORTRAIT OF C. S. RAFINESQUE, FROM THE "ANALYSE DE LA NATURE."

on Animals, and I am become a Zoologist and Naturalist. My early voyage made me a traveler.”*

Rafinesque's second and third voyages and the first he afterwards remembered were made with his parents on a trip to Leghorn where his father's sister lived. In 1791 the father of Rafinesque as part owner of the ship *Argonaute* started on a voyage to Mauritius and China by way of the Cape of Good Hope. The ship fell among the English cruisers but escaped by crossing over to Philadelphia where ship and cargo were sold. Here the elder Rafinesque sickened with yellow fever and died in 1793. Meanwhile, the French revolution being in progress, Mrs. Rafinesque took her two sons and one daughter and left for Leghorn, Italy, in order to escape the reign of terror. At this place they remained during the years from 1792 to 1796. Here Rafinesque received instruction in the common branches and in the English language from private tutors. He acquired the Italian from his associates. Books on natural history and travels were read with deep interest. In after years he boasted that at the age of twelve he had read the *Universal History*, an extensive work, and a thousand volumes on a variety of subjects. In 1795, at the age of eleven he began making plant collections. A trip was made to Pisa to see the public games of St. Ranieri, the leaning tower, and other places of interest. In 1796 an overland journey was made to Genoa. Rafinesque kept a journal of this trip which he says was his first literary effort of its kind. The journey over the Appenines was made in a sedan chair and by mules while the lumbering coach was chartered for the crossing of the lower country.

After a time spent in Genoa, Rafinesque was sent to Pisa to live with his paternal grandmother. The journey was made partly by sea and partly by land. Rafinesque found time to cultivate his love for botany by collecting plants in the neighborhood of Genoa and of Pisa, along the

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, p. 6.

banks of the Arno, and in the mountains. In 1797 his grandmother left Pisa and returned to Marseilles sending her grandson in charge of a trusty man back to Genoa. A project was under advisement to send Rafinesque to a college in Switzerland, but unfortunately it was not carried out. He however soon rejoined his grandmother at Marseilles. He continued his education alone by reading with avidity whatever came in his way, preferring, however, books of travel and of the natural sciences. Occasionally incursions were made into the realms of philosophy, chemistry, and medicine. Rafinesque says of this period of his life:

I never was in a regular College, nor lost my time on dead languages; but I spent it in learning alone and by mere reading ten times more than is taught in Schools. I have undertaken to learn the Latin and Greek, as well as the Hebrew, Sanscrit, Chinese and fifty other languages, as I felt the need or inclination to study them.*

Rafinesque was now sixteen years of age and began making plans for the future. He thought of some profession, then again his taste for horticulture suggested the career of a botanist and a gardener, but apparently family history threw the balance in favor of a business career such as his father had followed. Merchants were more or less peripatetic a century ago and as Rafinesque had acquired a taste for moving about he readily consented to take up the parental choice for a life work. A position of an apprentice was secured as a clerk with a distant relative. Meanwhile the woods and the fields about Marseilles gave to him many days of pleasure in the study of the fauna and flora. In a wild romantic place he planted a small flower garden. Days were spent in watching birds and in making sketches of them. The nearby streams and pools contained many fishes as well as shells and crabs. These were studied and some collections gathered. The naturalist, Daudin, resided at Paris and to him Rafinesque sent some of his observations on birds. Daudin was his first learned correspondent. Rafinesque also

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, pp. 8-9.

busied himself collecting books, planning travels, or projecting some literary effort as his boyish fancy suggested. He says:

I had not decided where to travel, many distant countries appeared to invite me; but above all the Grecian and Oriental Regions of my birth, and where resided my maternal relatives.*

Meanwhile the troubled state of Europe produced business depression and as a consequence the family fortune was badly depleted and widely scattered. The property of Rafinesque's father and of his uncle, a victim of the revolution, fell into the hands of Mr. Lafleche who fled to Genoa and never made any settlement. At this time, Rafinesque's grandmother died at an advanced age. He was sent back to Leghorn to live with his mother who was now married to a merchant by the name of Lanthois. This journey he took in company with his brother by the sea route in 1800. Capture by an English frigate was narrowly averted. Arriving at Genoa Mr. Lafleche sent them on to Leghorn by sea but at Sestri gaining news of cruisers the remainder of the journey was made overland. The two following years were spent in helping Mr. Lanthois in his commercial transactions and as occasion offered in roaming over the fields and in the woods. He continued to send accounts of birds to Daudin. An English lady by the name of Partridge had a garden and a museum near Montenero to which Rafinesque made frequent visits. A journey was made to Calci in the Appenines of Tuscany, and as the region roundabout appealed to the fancy of Rafinesque he made a topographical map of it.

At eighteen years of age, Rafinesque came to America. Of this interesting voyage he writes:

In 1802 it was resolved to send me with my brother to begin our travels. It was to the United States of America that we were sent, upon several considerations superfluous to state here. This was the period of my real voyages and travels, on the score of importance and novelty, as well as those discoveries which followed my exertions. Before this all my excursions were mere youthful trials in countries well known. I was of course

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, p. 11.

delighted, and eager to begin to see the world. We were provided with an adventure, many letters of introduction, and we departed to roam over the wide world.*

In March, 1802, Rafinesque and his younger brother, Anthony Augustus, left Leghorn on board the American ship, *Philadelphia*, owned by the Cliffords, and commanded by Captain Razer, bound for Philadelphia at which city they arrived after a voyage of forty-two days without a single landing. Of this voyage Rafinesque wrote:

We followed the Spanish shore from Cape Gates, and passed the strait of Gibraltar in a few days. I had the first view of Africa and afterwards of the great Ocean, this famous *Atlantic Ocean*, which after 4000 years bears yet the name of the first Nations who have crossed it, the *Atalas* and the *Antis*! It afforded me a new study by its fishes and mollusca. I drew and described all those that we caught. It was more difficult to procure Birds, but Turtles could be taken while sleeping on the waves. We had a favourable passage, without accidents nor storms. In forty days we obtained the first sight of America, the Capes May and Henlopen forming Delaware Bay. These shores are so low, that the trees are seen before the soil, and give a sylvan impression of this continent. In two days we run up the Bay and River to Philadelphia, where we landed on the 18th April 1802.†

Rafinesque carried letters of introduction to various noted citizens of Philadelphia who received him kindly. The Clifford brothers offered him a position in their counting house; Dr. Benjamin Rush took an interest in the wanderer and offered to become his preceptor. The offer of the Cliffords was accepted but when the yellow fever appeared in the city during the following summer Rafinesque relinquished his position and went to Germantown to live with Colonel Forrest, a horticulturist. Being on a new continent where the productions of nature were very different from those of southern Europe Rafinesque found much for amusement and instruction. In company with Colonel Forrest he made many trips out into the neighboring country and once down into New Jersey through the barrens and along the sea coast. A visit was made to Westchester to Marshall's bo-

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, pp. 12-13.

† *Ibid*, pp. 13-14.

tanic garden, and Bartram's garden was also visited. The birds, the reptiles, the fishes, and the flowers received attention from Rafinesque. In October after the scourge of yellow fever had passed away Rafinesque returned to his commercial work at Philadelphia. During 1803 he, in company with his brother who had spent the previous year at New York and Newark, returned to Germantown to avoid the dreaded yellow fever. Many excursions were undertaken to neighboring points of interest. A trip was made to Lancaster to visit the noted preacher botanist, Muhlenburg. Rafinesque became acquainted either by conversation or by correspondence with many of the early American botanists whose reputations give them fame even to this day. The circle included Pursh, Barton, Muhlenburg, Bartram, Marshall, Peale, Kin, Logan, Shultze, Gaissen, Vanvleck, Hamilton, Mease, Mitchell, Cutler, Brickell, and the French wanderer, Michaux. The majority of these shining lights in the galaxy of early American scientists have left to posterity classic works, the results of intensive studies in their chosen fields.

In the fall of 1803 Rafinesque returned to Philadelphia and resigned his position with the Cliffords in favor of his brother and occupied his time during the winter as secretary for Mr. Gernon. As the spring of 1804 came he forsook his occupation and betook himself to the woods. He writes:

My pedestrian excursions of the last year had given me a relish for these rambles; I had become convinced that they were both easy, useful and full of pleasure, while they afforded me the means to study every thing at leisure. I never was happier than when alone in the woods with the blossoms, or resting near a limpid stream or spring, I enjoyed without control the gifts of Flora, and the beauties of nature. I therefore resolved to undertake this year longer journeys before I left America, where I foresaw that I could not remain to advantage, as I often threw my eyes towards Greece and Asia, as another field of exertions and discoveries.*

Rafinesque traveled across Delaware from north to south, visiting places of interest, not neglecting to call upon the

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, p. 18.

Governor at his plantation near Dover. The return trip was along the Western shore of Maryland. The Great Dismal Swamp was visited, also Cape Henlopen, the downs, the light house, and the sea shore. The animal and plant life of both sea and land yielded toll to the omnivorous collector. Observations on soils, strata, and fossils were taken. A visit was made to Washington where he met President Jefferson, Mr. Madison, secretary of state, and other public men. A deputation of Osages were in Washington. They gave their national dances of which Rafinesque was an interested and a surprised spectator. He collected a vocabulary from the chief Pauska or White Head through the interpreter, Mr. Chouteau. The falls of the Potomac, the cities of Alexandria, Baltimore, Havre de Grace, Westchester, Lancaster, Columbia, Harrisburg, the Alleghanies, Reading, New Lebanon, Easton, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and many other places were visited while collecting natural history objects and calling upon citizens of similar predilections.

Rafinesque was now twenty years of age, in short he was in the formative period of his life. Different forces were exerting their influences and the final results were uncertain. Of this time he writes:

My last excursion this year was a walk to Wilmington in Delaware to visit my friends there. But on my return I received letters from Europe which changed my plans, and induced me to leave America: although then several of my friends wished to detain me, and made me several offers of employment, not quite to my taste. I had once hesitated however when I was told that I might be admitted as Botanist in the expedition which Lewis & Clark were then preparing to survey the Missouri and cross the Oregon mountains. The dangers of this long journey would not have prevented me to join it; but the difficulty was to be admitted as Botanist or learned Surveyor: it appears that Wilson who wished to join the party as Ornithologist or Hunter, could not obtain the permission. The same might have happened with me; but I did not apply: this journey did not promise any reward, while I had the offer of a lucrative situation in Sicily, a country new to me.*

Gathering his worldly possession Rafinesque accompanied by his brother secured passage late in December on the

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, p. 24.

ship *Two Sisters* commanded by Captain Evans. Cutting through the ice the ship passed out upon the ocean on New Year's Day, 1805, bound for Leghorn. A stormy, and for that day, a swift voyage carried them to their destination. In thirty days the straits of Gibraltar were cleared and in six more the ship was on the shores of Italy. At Leghorn a quarantine of forty days was placed on the ship as Rafinesque says "without cause", but which, however, was not very rigid. His mother and sister as well as friends came frequently to visit him during his detention. He says:

I spent this time of leisure in arranging my plants, drawing the new species, writing my travels and letters. I had brought a fine collection of plants, seeds, shells, minerals, &c. My herbal contained nearly 2400 species and 10,000 specimens. I sent many to the Professors Savi of Pisa and Radi of Florence, who gave me Italian plants in exchange.*

Landing in March, Rafinesque remained in Leghorn and nearby places until into May, when he left on board the Austrian ship *Trabacolo* for Palermo which was reached after a voyage of eight days. Here a quarantine of twenty days was imposed "because there had been yellow fever in Leghorn one year before!"

On landing at Palermo Rafinesque entered the employ of Mr. A. Gibbs, the U. S. consul, as secretary and chancellor. He remained with him until 1808, living in his palace. Having saved his earnings he secured a house and engaged in mercantile pursuits with much profit. Squills and medicinal drugs among other things engaged his attention in a commercial way. Excursions were made into all the surrounding territory in quest of animate and inanimate objects for purposes of study and of exchange. The fishes of the sea and other sea life attracted his attention. The mines, the quarries, and Mount Etna received the homage of the enthusiastic student, even the ruins of antiquity scattered over the island excited his wonder and admiration. The English botanist and naturalist, Swainson, visited Palermo

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, p. 26.

and became the friend and companion of Rafinesque in many a ramble. At about this time Rafinesque was a candidate for the chair of botany in the university, and later the chair of agriculture and economy, but was unsuccessful in both attempts. He continued his studies with unabated zeal, collecting, arranging his specimens, preparing plates for prospective publications, writing for journals, and publishing. Ten years were thus spent on the Island of Sicily, years of toil and of hopeful promise, years to which Rafinesque looked back and said:

My first impressions of this lovely Island were delightful: arriving in the month of May, the air was embalmed by the emanations of orange blossoms, carried far at sea in the night by the land breeze. The mountains were smiling with flowers and verdure, they invited me to climb over them. The view of Palermo and the bay is very fine, although not quite equal to that of Naples with the smoking Vesuvius. Here I was then, in Sicily the largest and finest of the Islands in the Mediterranean: a residence of ten years made me perfectly acquainted with it and its natural productions. Few learned travellers can boast to have so long studied Nature in that lovely spot. It was the best epoch of my life. The events of those ten years might afford materials for a romance.*

Rafinesque's opinion of Sicily as he tersely gives it is:

Sicily might be described in a few words by saying that she offers . . . a fruitful soil, delightful climate, excellent productions, perfidious men, deceitful women . . . such is the outline of her picture.†

Growing tired of Sicily and its people Rafinesque began to think of other climes. He proposed to Banks an exploring tour of the coast of Australia but his plan failed to meet with favor. He thought of going to Paris where his mother lived but was prevented from fear of the turbulent condition of the country. Mr. Gibbs was sending a ship to New York which circumstance induced Rafinesque to secure passage again to America. Getting together a quantity of drugs and merchandise for trade along with fifty boxes of personal goods, such as a naturalist possesses, Rafinesque resolutely set out for America where as the sequel shows he

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, p. 27.

† *Ibid.*

was destined to pass the remainder of his life. The story of the voyage as given by him is as follows:

This voyage from Palermo to New York was long and unfortunate: our ship did not sail fast, and we were over 100 days on the way, including our stay in Gibraltar and the Azores. We sailed at the end of July, and only reached Gibraltar in 15 days, after having sailed along Sicily and Sardinia, gone near Bona in Africa on a tack, and followed the Spanish shores from Cape Gates to Malaga and the strait. We often came close to several towns and the island Alboran, in our tacks. At last we entered the strait with a good easterly wind, which might have sent us 600 miles forward in three days, and spared perhaps our mishaps; but we spent these three days of fair wind in Gibraltar, where the Ship was to stop on some business. However this allowed me to land in Spain, to visit the famous mt. Calpe and to herborize on it. Reaching the ocean, we had for awhile favourable weather with many calms, that allowed me to study again the fishes and molusca, to catch turtles, &c. But arrived near the Azores, we fell into one of those dreadful squalls frequent there. We nearly perished in it, a Brig in sight disappeared, our Ship was thrown on the beams ends, and merely escaped and righted by losing two masts; but thus dismasted we had to seek a harbor in the Id. of St. Michael. Skirting the S. side we reached *Punta Delgado* the metropolis, where we were well received by the British and American Consuls. * * Having quickly repaired our damage as well as we could, we resumed our voyage; but were nearly two months on the way, being baffled by violent storms, in one we had to throw our guns overboard. We had also to contend against the gulf stream which our Maltese sailors did not know, and crossed improperly. Thus when we reached soundings we were nearly out of provisions. But here a greater misfortune awaited us. The first land in sight was Cape Montauk at the end of Long Id. Westerly winds baffling us yet, we resolved to go to Newport for food and water. We were near it having taken a pilot in the way, when a sudden N. E. wind repulsed us, and being favorable for New York, we turned back towards it through the sound. It was the 2d November 1815, a dreadful day for me. The weather was foggy, at 10 o'clock at night we ran unaware upon the Race rocks, which lay under water between Fisher Id. and Long Id. The wind and tide made us pass over, but we lost our keel. Our Ship filled fast and settled down on one side; but without sinking, being made buoyant by the air of the hold. We had merely the time to escape in our boats, with some difficulty; the long boat was too heavy to be hoisted, but floated as the Ship fell, entangled in the rigging for awhile. Having left the wreck we rowed towards the light house of New London then in sight, and reached it at midnight: thus landing in America for a second time, but in a deplorable situation. I had lost everything, my fortune, my share of the cargo, my collections and labors for 20 years past, my books, my manuscripts, my drawings, even my clothes . . . all that I possessed, except some scattered funds, and the Insurance ordered in England for

one-third of the value of my goods. For some days after I was in a state of utter despair. I walked to New London in Connecticut. I was flattered with the hope that the floating Ship could yet be saved; but as soon as the masts were cut to tow it easier, it righted and sunk, after throwing up the confined air of the hold by an explosion. Some hearts of stone have since dared to doubt of these facts or rejoice at my losses! Yes, I have found men, vile enough to laugh without shame at my misfortune, instead of condoling with me! But I have met also with friends who have deplored my loss, and helped me in need.*

Within a short time Rafinesque went overland to New York and looked about in search of employment. Doctor Mitchill, the editor of the Medical Repository, with whom Rafinesque corresponded while residing in Sicily, took an interest in the efforts of the stranger and introduced him among his friends and associates. Meeting with Mr. Livingston he arranged to pass the winter at his country residence as a private tutor for his three daughters. This country residence was near Clearmont on the Hudson river, a hundred miles north of New York. Thither Rafinesque journeyed by stage in December and entered upon his duties. His leisure was spent in reading the books in Mr. Livingston's library, sketching the beautiful scenery, and writing his travels and recollections. In midwinter, Mrs. Livingston's health failing, the family removed to Charleston, S. C. Rafinesque not desiring to go to the south returned to New York and shortly after went to Philadelphia to call upon his former friends.

As spring returned Rafinesque began field work in the natural sciences. His friend Collins lent encouragement by precept and by example. Soon returning by a new route to New York he joined Dr. Mitchill and Captain Partridge in a collecting trip to New Jersey. The mania for roaming was now in full control. A journey was made to Albany in a steamboat. Trips were made out to various points, to the four falls, to Lake George, and the mineral springs at Saratoga, even visiting Ticonderoga in Vermont. These trips enabled Rafinesque to explore and map most of the course

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, pp. 46-49.

of the Hudson river. He was greatly pleased with his tour and returned to New York laden with plants, shells, fossils, and minerals. Long Island and New Jersey were now visited. The insurance on the goods lost in the shipwreck having been received Rafinesque started again in business but the bankruptcy of a New York house and the rascality of a Sicilian caused losses and prevented him from reaping the rewards of his industry. During a business trip to Philadelphia Rafinesque met his former friend, John D. Clifford, who now resided at Lexington, Kentucky, and it was arranged that Rafinesque should go to Kentucky in the spring of 1818. Meanwhile he had helped to found the Lyceum of Natural History of New York and had become a member of the Philosophical Society. Contributions were made to the American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review. A Flora of Louisiana was published and many literary schemes were projected. During 1817 two collecting trips were made to various New York stations, one in company with Doctors Torrey and Knevels, and two trips to various places on Long Island. Rafinesque made his home during the summer in Brooklyn but during the winter he resided in New York.

In May, 1818, Rafinesque set out for the west. The journey to Philadelphia and Lancaster was made by stage. From Lancaster he walked over the Alleghanies through Columbia, York, Chambersburg, Bedford, Greensburg, and on to Pittsburg where he visited awhile, and contracted with Cramer and Spear, booksellers, to publish a proposed map of the river Ohio and his travels in America.

At Pittsburg Rafinesque fell in with a company of gentlemen and together they purchased an ark with which they floated down the Ohio, camping at night along the shore. On reaching Cincinnati, Rafinesque went overland to North-bend and visited with Mr. Short, a fellow student of nature. As the ark came by, the journey was resumed to Louisville, where former friends, the Messrs. Tarascon resided. Here two weeks were spent visiting and studying the fishes and

shells at the falls of the Ohio river, and in drawing the striking objects on the spot. "I was surprised", said Rafinesque, "to find them nearly all new."* After seeing the neighborhood of Louisville passage was taken on a day boat to Hendersonville where some days were pleasantly spent with the famous Audubon. Securing a horse a journey was made to the communistic settlement at New Harmony on the Wabash where a visit was made with Dr. Miller. Crossing the Wabash a trip was made through Illinois to Shawaneetown and on to the mouth of the Ohio river, the return being made back to Hendersonville through Morgantown. From here Rafinesque walked to Louisville, crossing the barrens and meadows of Kentucky. Visiting with the Messrs. Tarascon for a few days and shipping his collections to Pittsburg, Rafinesque then went to Middleton to call upon his friend Bradbury, thence to Lexington to see his friend of former days, John D. Clifford.

Of this visit he writes:

The fine museum of fossils and antiquities already collected by Clifford deserved all my attention, I spent many days in studying them and drawing the rarest. He wanted to increase it and he induced me to come and settle with him in Lexington, promising to procure me a Professorship in the University and to travel every year with me in the vacations to increase his museum and my collections. This project which allowed me to travel and explore all the vast regions of the Mississippi with a friend, and to settle in a healthy and pleasant town, met my approbation. But I had to return to Philadelphia to settle my concerns, and withdraw from trade.†

The return to Philadelphia began with a wagon but it was soon abandoned. At Maysville Rafinesque crossed the Ohio river and traveled on foot across the state of Ohio, passing through Chillicothe, Lancaster, Zanesville, and Steubenville. Of Ohio Rafinesque states:

It was near Chillicothe that I saw the first great monuments and pyramids or altars, of the ancient nations of N. America; they struck me with astonishment and induced me to study them.‡

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, p. 55.

† Ibid, p. 57.

‡ Ibid, p. 58.

Rafinesque crossed the Ohio river at Steubenville and took the Virginia road through the hills to Pittsburg, thence on over the Alleghanies for the second time, noting the geology of the country by the way. A stop was made to visit the mineral springs at Bedford. At Lancaster the stage was taken to Philadelphia.

The winter of 1818 and 1819 was spent in drafting a map of the region of the Ohio river, in preparing papers, and making arrangements to emigrate to the west. Of this period our subject writes:

A friend of mine Mr. Michel wanted then to form a partnership with me in trade; but I gave up trade for Clifford and the west. I even refused the chair of Professor of Chemistry which he could have obtained for me, altho' many Professors of it are less Chemists than I, because I had a greater taste for botany, zoology and geology. Yet one was lucrative, while that which I chose was less so. I obtained thus the Professorship of botany and natural history, with the addition of modern languages, with lodgings, boarding and casual emoluments.*

Rafinesque packed his library and collections and shipped them to Lexington, Ky., in care of Clifford. In May, 1819, he went by steamboat to Baltimore where a visit was made with the botanist, Hayden. Turning now towards the west Rafinesque crossed the Alleghanies for the third time on foot. The itinerary was from Frederic to the Cotocton mountains, through the gap of the Potomac river, on to Harper's Ferry, along the river to Cumberland, thence over the table-land through Brownsville to Pittsburg. Here Rafinesque delivered his map of the Ohio river to the booksellers, Messrs. Cramer and Spear, and received one hundred dollars for his services.

The journey was resumed by taking passage on a keel boat down the Ohio river. A stop was made at Marietta, Ohio, to study and survey the prehistoric remains. While the boat was running the rapids at Letart, Rafinesque crossed the isthmus in West Virginia on foot, collecting along the way, and later meeting the boat at Parkersburg. Arriving

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, p. 59.

at Maysville Rafinesque left the boat and started overland for Lexington, Ky. The route passed over by him by stage and by private carriage is practically the same as is now followed by the railway from Maysville to Lexington.

It was mid-summer of 1819 when Rafinesque reached Lexington. The university was closed for the summer vacation. Clifford was in the hill country to the southward passing the time in search of health, and thither Rafinesque went to meet his friend. There they remained until the close of the season enjoying themselves in communion with nature. As fall approached both returned to Lexington. On the opening of the university Rafinesque began a course of lectures on natural history. In the spring of 1820 a course was given on botany. On the conclusion of the year's work Rafinesque and Clifford were preparing for a journey into western Kentucky and into Arkansas. On the eve of their departure Clifford sickened, and died a few days later. Rafinesque thus speaks of his misfortune:

This loss of an intimate and zealous friend was blasting to all my hopes and views. I ought to have left the country directly; but finding myself with all my books and collections in a fine unexplored country, where there was much to glean, . . . I thought that I ought to explore it by myself. But instead of traveling in a carriage with Clifford, I had to return to my pedestrian excursions. Horses were offered to me; but I never liked riding them, and dismounting for every flower: horses do not suit botanists.*

The summer of 1820 was passed in Kentucky in the immediate neighborhood of Lexington, exploring the ancient remains or collecting objects of natural history. Much time was spent preparing papers for publication. During the school year of 1820-1821 lectures on botany were delivered to many students and instruction given to large classes in the French, Italian, and Spanish languages. Many friends were acquired but Rafinesque felt that not one was a Clifford to him. Frequent trips were made to Ashland to visit the statesman Henry Clay, also to a country seat near Harrodsburg where

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, p. 61.

dwelt the genial spirit, Mr. Meade. Dr. Short, the botanist, and the traveler, Bradbury, called upon Rafinesque. These gentlemen were old correspondents of his and had sent him objects of natural history. Bradbury's visit was in 1822.

The chair of *materia medica* being vacant Rafinesque became a candidate but was not preferred. Times were dull and money scarce. Of these times the following account is given:

The paper money introduced in Kentucky in spite of the Constitution, and which soon fell to 50 per cent, became another cause of displeasure, doubling all my expences, postages, carriage of goods, &c., preventing me to travel out of Kentucky where it had its only value, and increasing the price of every thing, without increasing my emoluments. My travels were prepared for the press; but the booksellers of Pittsburg would not print them, in spite of their special contract, owing to the general distress, and I could not go to Pittsburg to compel them. All this combined to disgust me, and I could not travel far this year. I had to confine myself to the villages near Lexington.*

A situation in Pulaski college was open to Rafinesque but was refused as he did not wish to go farther inland with his possessions and had resolved to establish a botanic garden or leave Kentucky. The vacation season of 1823 was spent in exploring that state; our subject starting out in May for a two months journey to the Tennessee river and to points in western Kentucky. A visit was made at Bowling Green with General Covington, also at Elkton with Mr. New, with the Shakers at West Union, and at Russellville, thence to Hopkinsville where visits were made with Mr. Campbell and Doctor Short. An excursion was taken to Clarksville on the Cumberland river in Tennessee. A trip to the prehistoric remains at Canton on the Cumberland river was made and across on to the Tennessee river. The country between the Tennessee and Mississippi rivers being unsettled Rafinesque regretfully turned back although he desired to go on to the Mississippi river. The return was through Hopkinsville and Russellville to West Union and

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, pp. 65-66.

Bowling Green, visiting by the way the Cameleon spring, and later the famous mammoth cave. Of it Rafinesque wrote: "I spent one day to survey it, and found it very different from the printed exaggerated accounts, but yet wonderful enough."*

The return to Lexington occurred in July with ample collections brought in wagons. A short rest and then Rafinesque was away to spend August and September in southeastern Kentucky, going through Danville, Shelby, Somerset, to the falls of the Cumberland river, later to Barboursville and the gap of the Cumberland, the return home being by way of Hazlepatch, Mt. Vernon, Crab Orchard, and Stanford, with the usual load of collections.

During the school year of 1823-1824 Rafinesque gave lectures to the medical students on medical botany, using the modern method of teaching by the exhibition of specimens.

Rafinesque in 1824 went to Frankfort and solicited the legislature for aid to establish a botanic garden at Lexington. The Senate granted the request but the House refused. However, a company was formed and incorporated and subscriptions taken. W. H. Richardson was president of the board of directors and Rafinesque, secretary. The company started out well, secured a desirable plot of ten acres, issued a booklet of twenty-four pages in English and French, then languished and died. Rafinesque claimed that in order to divert him from the garden he was appointed librarian of the university and keeper of the museum, and, according to him, among other calamities he took a bad case of measles but got well in spite of the physicians by refusing to be medicated while many others died although treated.

Rafinesque's travels during 1824 were mostly for the purpose of soliciting subscriptions for the establishment of the botanic garden and were made through the country within forty miles around Lexington. A few trips were made to prehistoric sites to study and survey.

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, p. 70.

The work for 1825 began as follows:

In March 1825 I began to plant the garden, of which I was the Superintendent; but I soon became aware of a secret hostility to my undertaking, and several subscribers did not pay their instalments. It became impossible to struggle against the influence of the foes of sciences. I became weary of it, and resolved to end these perpetual difficulties, by seeking elsewhere other resources or advantages, undertaking in that view a journey to Washington City, Baltimore and Philadelphia. I left the garden in the hands of Mr. Ficklin, and Lexington at the end of June after the visit of Lafayette.*

Of the garden Rafinesque wrote:

I never owned an acre of ground, this garden would have been my delight: I had traced the plan of it, with a retreat among the flowers, a Green house, Museum and Library; but I had to forsake it at last, and make again my garden of the woods and mountains.†

At the close of June, 1825, Rafinesque left for Washington. The stage was taken to Maysville, Chillicothe, Zanesville, and Wheeling. From Wheeling the trip over the Alleghanies was undertaken as usual on foot. At Winchester he visited with Mr. Barton, a fellow student of nature. Taking the stage from thence to the Shenandoah river, then on foot over the Cotocton or Blue Mountains to Aldie, thence to Georgetown and Washington. Rafinesque remained a month in Washington visiting with old friends, Adlum and Winn. He also met the botanists M'William and Brereton and was introduced to President Adams. He states that he "induced Maj. M'Kinney at the head of the Indian department, to print circulars to collect vocabularies of 100 words, in all the Languages spoken by the Indians of the United States."‡

Some time was spent visiting the vineyard of Adlum who was a successful wine producer. From studies made at this vineyard came in later years the "American Manual of Grape Vines and the Art of Making Wine," which was published in 1830.

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, p. 75.

† Ibid, p. 72.

‡ Ibid, p. 76.

For some time Rafinesque had devoted his energies to devising various schemes. One of these he called the "Divital Invention," which is now known as the "Coupon System." He always claimed to be the inventor of this now widely used system of divisible commercial paper or certificates, and his chief business at Washington was to obtain patents on his various inventions, this one among them. Henry Clay, of Kentucky, being out of the city at the time, delay occurred, but the business was finally concluded. On leaving the Capital the stage was taken to Baltimore where Dr. James Smith became his host. At Baltimore Rafinesque published his plan of divisible certificates. The plan was soon adopted in part or by improvement, but no returns ever came to the inventor, who shunned lawsuits as a plague and allowed the pirating to go on.

After some time Rafinesque took the steamboat for Philadelphia where he met his old friend Collins as well as others. It was now well into October and Rafinesque while desiring to go to New York and Boston felt impelled to return to Lexington to close up his affairs preparatory to leaving the west. The stage was taken to Lancaster, Harrisburg, Carlisle, and Chambersburg to the base of the mountains. For the fifth time the Alleghanies were crossed on foot, this time by a new route through Berlin, Somerset, and Washington to Wheeling. From Wheeling the route across Ohio was by stage through Zanesville, Lancaster, Circleville, Washington, Wilmington to Lebanon. The ancient monuments at Circleville were visited. From Lebanon the journey was resumed to Cincinnati where public lectures were given in the museum of Mr. Dorfeuille. A visit was made to General Taylor and Mr. Symes, notorious for his system of concentric spheres and polar openings, who resided in the nearby village of Newport, Kentucky. Shortly afterwards Rafinesque returned to Lexington. How he found matters may be best stated in his own words:

I returned to Lexington by the Ridge road, and proceeded to Frankford, when I found how the President of the University had behaved in my

absence. To evince his hatred against sciences and discoveries, he had broken open my rooms, given one to the students, and thrown all my effects, books and collections in a heap in the other. He had also deprived me of my situation as Librarian and my board in the College. I had to put up with all this to avoid beginning lawsuits. I took lodgings in town and carried there all my effects: thus leaving the College with curses on it and Holley; who were both reached by them soon after, since he died next year at sea of the Yellow fever, caught at New Orleans, having been driven from Lexington by public opinion: and the College has been burnt in 1828 with all its contents. But Clifford's cabinet was saved (like mine) by being removed previously like mine, and is now partly in Cincinnati and partly in Philadelphia. This was a lucky escape. However I never was deprived of my Professorship and have never resigned it! but in the Winter of 1825-26 I gave my last course of lectures on medical Botany. I published my *Neogenyton* and other pamphlets. I left the botanic garden to its fate, since the company would not support it properly, and thus it has been destroyed. I had some intention to join Mr. Maclure at New Harmony, but he had friends jealous of me also: it was well for me, since his views and fine College have been abortive.*

Rafinesque's view of President Horace Holley may be a little severe. However, Holley was a learned man of the ultra-conservative school and looked askance at anything of scientific tendency. He no doubt considered collections as mere rubbish, the removal of which was a good riddance. He was not of a mind to appreciate scientific merit and probably gave no thought to the fact that his university had in Rafinesque one of the most eminent scientists in America. President Holley guided the destinies of Transylvania University from November, 1818, to March, 1827, which period is considered the most brilliant in the university's career. By indiscreet words and improper conduct Holley created much public opposition, which fanned by prejudice and religious bigotry, made his position untenable and forced his resignation. During his incumbency there were internal dissensions yet withal he accomplished much, though considerable credit belongs to his predecessor whose wise administration had created favorable conditions. Into such an atmosphere Rafinesque came, stayed nearly seven years, and left of his own accord. The wonder is that one possessing his sensitive nature should have remained so long.

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, pp. 78-79.

Gathering up his books and collections Rafinesque shipped them to Philadelphia. His personal possessions filled forty boxes, according to his account, and had doubled during his residence in Kentucky. After calling upon his friends to bid them adieu, Rafinesque in the year 1826 left Lexington, going by stage to Cincinnati where a public lecture was given. The stage was taken northward to Hamilton, along the Miami river to Dayton, where the ancient remains were studied and observations made of the canal then digging, thence to Springfield. From here Rafinesque walked over to Yellow Springs to visit the community established by Lownes. After the visit Lownes sent the traveler back to Springfield in his carriage. At Springfield Rafinesque took the stage to Columbus where one day was spent. The journey was resumed to Mt. Vernon to visit the hills. Rafinesque walked over the hill country through Belleville, Mansfield, and to New Haven, where the stage was taken through Milan to Sandusky on Lake Erie. After waiting three days a steamboat from Detroit came by and passage was secured to Buffalo. Stops were made along the way at Cleveland, Fairport, Erie, and other places.

At Buffalo Rafinesque observed many Seneca Indians. Crossing the Niagara river at Blackrock into Canada gave him opportunity to examine the river and falls from both sides. This phenomenon excited his wonder and admiration. One day was spent on each side studying the botany and geology and making maps and views. The stage was taken to Queenstown. After crossing the river to Lewistown and Manchester the stage was resumed to Lockport, stopping on the way at Tuscarora to visit for a day with Cusick, the historian of the Iroquois. From Lockport the journey to Rochester was made on the canal in a packet. Here Rafinesque by chance met Professor Eaton, of Troy, who was out on a scientific tour with his pupils on the canal, in a boat of their own and were returning from Buffalo. Being invited to join the company he accepted with pleasure. He after-

wards said it "was one of the most agreeable journeys I ever performed." By easy stages the journey to Troy was continued, many side trips being made to points of interest. At Troy rest was obtained for some days at the home of Professor Eaton. The steamboat was then taken to West Point where Dr. Torrey received the traveler. Later the journey was continued to New York and Philadelphia. The remainder of the summer was spent in visiting Doctor Betton and Mr. Haines at Germantown and in numerous excursions to outlying stations.

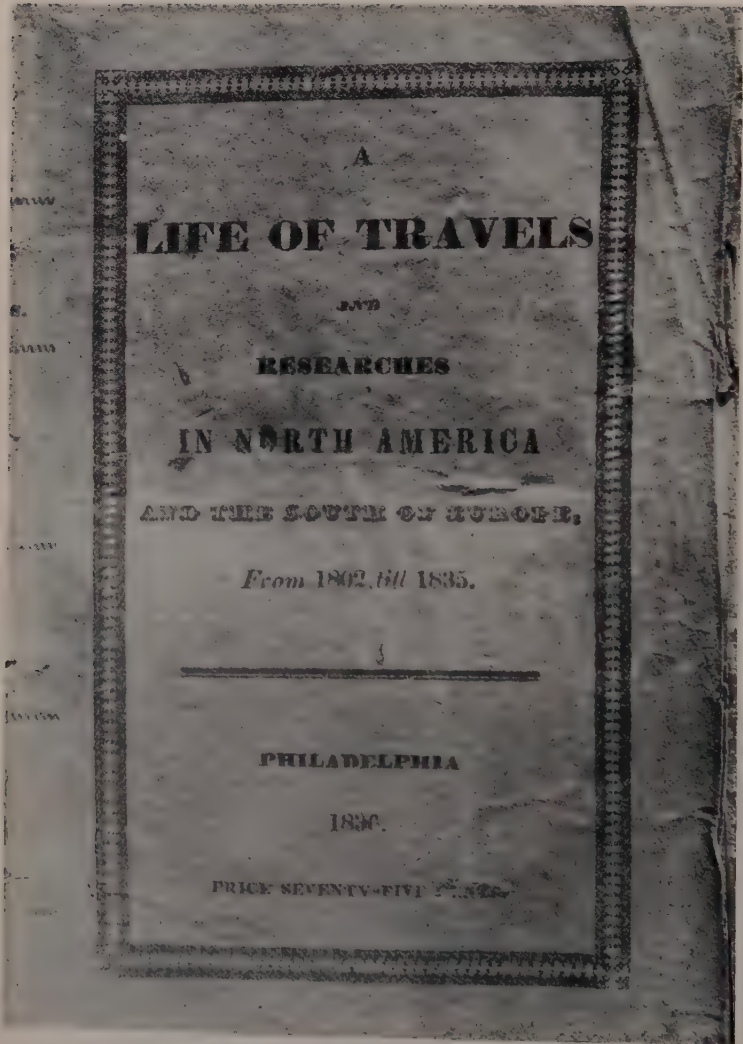
In September Rafinesque settled in Philadelphia, devoting the winter of 1826 and 1827 to the giving of a course of lectures on natural history to a class in the Franklin Institute. During the year 1827 he became professor of geography and drawing in the high school of the same institution.

These occupations, Rafinesque states consumed all his time and his collections were left in store and part of them under a mortgage. The transportation charges from Lexington proved very expensive. The vacation of 1827 was spent in research work in the libraries of Philadelphia and of the New England cities. In August a journey was undertaken to Boston, going by way of New York and Troy, where Professor Eaton was again visited. The stage was taken from Troy to Boston, the journey occupying two days. Harvard College was holding commencement on the day after Rafinesque arrived and he was an attendant on this occasion. A week was spent looking through the libraries of Cambridge and Boston and in meeting with learned men. The return to Troy was by way of Worcester where the library of the Antiquarian Society was visited. Various stops were made, but one, especially noteworthy, was at the Shaker settlement of New Lebanon on a visit with the botanist and gardener, Mr. Lawrence. Continuing on to Troy and Albany, the steamboat was there taken to New York. After a brief rest the journey was resumed to Philadelphia, which city was reached in September.

Rafinesque finding his health poor abandoned teaching and looked about for health and enjoyment in study. A volume of his *Medical Flora* was issued in 1828 and a second in 1830. Having as he thought cured himself of a chronic complaint he devoted much time and attention to the ills of others, choosing as a specialty the diseases of the lungs. A number of vegetable remedies were prepared and placed on the market and success rewarded the efforts from a commercial point of view. A small book called the "*Pulmist, or the Art to Cure the Consumption*" was issued and distributed in 1829. It is the common way to severely condemn Rafinesque for this episode in his career, yet after all is said it is difficult for an unprejudiced mind to enter anything more than a general censure. One would be rash to assert that his remedies or methods were any less medicinal than many others used during this period, or for that matter at the present time and which pass for respectability. Doubtless they were in many ways superior to some of the methods or remedies then in vogue.

Having noticed the tendency to appropriate the discoveries whenever any patents were secured Rafinesque refused to take out any more patents. He remarks, "Some envious hearts may have blamed me for it:" but he naively adds, "they are probably those who would have been the first to steal them if published."

In 1828 the Alleghanies were again visited, chiefly at new stations. On the return trip Rafinesque passed through Bethlehem and visited with the botanist Schweinitz. A trip was taken to New Jersey, thence on to New York, Staten Island, and to Long Island. In 1829 only two small journeys were taken, one in the spring to the pine barrens in New Jersey, and the second in the summer to New York by steamboat, thence to Norwalk in Connecticut, and to Hempstead on Long Island. In 1830 a trip was made in the spring to New Jersey, and during the summer to the Catskill Mountains in New York. The return was by way



COVER TITLE OF RAFINESQUE'S "LIFE OF TRAVELS."

of Albany where Rafinesque met Doctors Beck and Eights, and at Troy his old friends Eaton and Hales. While here Rafinesque delivered several lectures in the Rensselaer school.

In 1831 the mother of Rafinesque died at her home in Bordeaux, France. She had desired her son to return to France and Rafinesque was inclined to go, but the events of 1830 in Europe made him hesitate and later circumstances removed the opportunity. The only brother of Rafinesque died at Havre in 1826.

In 1831 trips were made to stations in Delaware and New Jersey. At Princeton, where Dr. Torrey was lecturing on chemistry, Rafinesque visited, and the two took to the fields on collecting trips. Later a trip was taken to New York and the Hudson and to New Lebanon to visit with his Shaker friend, Lawrence. In 1832 Rafinesque began publishing a quarterly journal called "The Atlantic Journal or Friend to Knowledge," which he continued for two years. During its publication he secured the enmity of Featherstonhaugh and Harlan.

About this time Baron Cuvier commissioned Rafinesque to collect the fishes of North America and send them to Paris where the museum authorities were to pay all expenses. While details were being arranged Cuvier died and the scheme lapsed.

In 1832 a trip was made to Baltimore on the Newcastle Railway, probably the first trip Rafinesque ever made in that manner. Returning to Philadelphia he took the cholera and finding the cholera approaching the city he left immediately for the mountains by way of Baltimore, taking the Fredericktown Railway through the Patapsco hills. Recovering soon after he spent the season at various places in or near the mountains. When the cholera left Philadelphia he returned by way of Harrisburg where he visited Governor Wolf.

During the year 1833 Rafinesque spent some time exploring the marls in the pine barrens of New Jersey. He

next essayed an extended journey through the southern Alleghanies to at least as far as Alabama. Heavy rains (and being lamed by an accidental fall) prevented the completion of the trip; Leesburg, Virginia, was the most southern point reached. Soon after the return he departed up the Schuylkill river and in July he was along the sea shore in New Jersey. A journey was made to New York and Troy where a course of lectures was delivered at the Rensselaer school. Lectures were also given at various other places, after which Rafinesque explored the country about the sources of the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers, and the valley of the Mohawk, returning to Philadelphia in September.

The summer of 1834 found Rafinesque eager for the outdoor life. Trips were made along the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers.

For some years Rafinesque had had in mind the founding of a six per cent savings bank. By persistent effort he interested others. The plan was to issue stock of \$50,000 in 5,000 shares; depositors to be paid six per cent. Subscribers to the number of fifty took most of the shares; the first of June, 1835, the bank was organized and by September deposits were being received. The plan succeeded. The dividends for the first year amounting to as much as nine per cent. The worry and exertions of Rafinesque over this new business venture impaired his health and he concluded to spend the summer in the mountains. On the fourth of July, 1835, he left Philadelphia on the railway, going to Columbia on the Susquehanna river. Here a boat was secured and the journey continued by easy stages up the canal or river by Harrisburg as far at least as Mahantango, visiting nearby and outlying points, and then up the Juniata river to Lewistown in the mountain region. Here the remainder of the summer was passed amid scenes and surroundings conducive to the health of a naturalist. By September Rafinesque returned by stage to Duncan Island at the mouth of

A
LIFE OF TRAVELS

AND
RESEARCHES

IN NORTH AMERICA AND SOUTH EUROPE,

OR
OUTLINES

OF
The Life, Travels and Researches

OF
C. S. RAFINESQUE, A. M. Ph. D.

Professor of historical and natural sciences, member of many learned Societies in Europe and America, author of many works, &c.

CONTAINING

His travels in **NORTH AMERICA** and the **SOUTH** of **EUROPE**; the Atlantic Ocean, Mediterranean, Sicily, Azores, &c. from 1802 to 1835—with sketches of his scientific and historical researches, &c.

*Un voyageur dès le berceau,
Je le serais jusqu' au tombeau*

PHILADELPHIA

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,

BY F. TURNER, NO. 367, MARKET STREET.

1836.

PRICE SEVENTY-FIVE CENTS.

the Juniata river, by boat to Harrisburg and Columbia, and by rail to Philadelphia. He felt restored to perfect health and began toiling in the bank as actuary of the institution. The new employment kept Rafinesque from roaming but gave him time to compose his larger works, many of which soon began to appear. In 1836 he published a small book of one hundred and forty-eight pages, entitled: "A Life of Travels and Researches in North America and South Europe." It is a characteristic but interesting, though somewhat crude narrative. This book is now very rare. It contains about all that is known of the inner life of Rafinesque. The fragmentary accounts and sketches of his life now extant are all more or less replete with errors, some of them grotesquely so.

While a resident of Lexington, Rafinesque helped form (in 1822) a literary club which later became the Kentucky Institute. He says:

I became the Secretary of it. We met weekly, to read Essays, discuss questions, &c. But trifles alone were welcome as well as good suppers: my communications were too learned. I had to become a Poet, I read and published some light poetry; . . . The most striking were the *Instability of the world*, *Despondency*, the *Western flowers*, &c., with the *Rives de l'Ohio* in French.*

The poem, "Instability", was elaborated and published, along with some minor pieces, in 1836, and strange as it may seem, actually passed through two editions during the year. Other publications of the same year were "The American Nations, or Outlines of Their General History," in two volumes; "New Flora and Botany of North America" in four parts; "Synoptical Flora Telluriana." In 1837 Rafinesque published his scheme of banking, in a book entitled, "Safe Banking, Including the Principles of Wealth." Another publication was "The Universe and the Stars." In 1838 there appeared: "The Ancient Monuments of North and South America," "Genius and Spirit of the Hebrew Bible;" "Alsographia Americana;" "Celestial Wonders and Philoso-

* Rafinesque, *Life of Travels*, pp. 72-73.

phy, or the Structure of the Visible Heavens;" and "Sylva Telluriana." In 1839 the publications were "American Manual of Mulberry trees," and "Improvements of Universities, Colleges and other Seats of Learning." While "Autikon Botanikon," three parts, "The Pleasures and Duties of Wealth," and "The Good Book, and Amenities of Nature, or Annals of Historical and Natural Sciences," were issued in 1840.

But the end was at hand. Hard work, close confinement, and disease made inroads upon the once powerful frame and the life of Rafinesque closed on September 18, 1840. Death found the toiler in reduced circumstances, dwelling in a garret, and alone. The immediate cause of death being cancer of the stomach. It is related that Dr. William Mease, a faithful friend, prepared the body for burial. On returning later with the undertaker, Mr. Bringham, and a few friends, it was found that the Shylock landlord had removed the remains to an adjoining room and locked the door, with the idea of selling the body to a medical school. The door was forced, the remains taken out by the rear of the building, and conveyed to a little church yard, then outside the city, and buried. The place is now known as Ronaldson's cemetery, Ninth and Catherine streets, a locality obliterated by the growth of the city.

Rafinesque left a will which is on file in the archives of Philadelphia. From it a few items concerning his inner life are revealed. Only here is it found that Rafinesque was married in Sicily in 1809 to Josephine Vaccaro. In 1811, a daughter, Emily; and in 1814, a son Charles Linneus, were born. The son died the following year. The wife and mother, proud and frivolous, in 1815 on receipt of the news of the shipwreck of her husband forgot her allegiance and married a comedian named Giovanni Pizzarrone and wasted the remaining property in her hands. The daughter Emily became a stage singer. It is further learned that the brother of Rafinesque left two children, Jules and Laura, and that the sister of Rafinesque died about the year 1834. The

VALUABLE BOOKS.

A MANUAL OF



Medical Botany,

CONTAINING 32 COLORED PLATES,

OF THE BEST MEDICAL PLANTS IN THE UNITED STATES,

With their names in Latin, German, French, & English, & a full description of their virtues, Localities and Medical Properties, with the manner of applying them for the prevention and cure of disease.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR RAFINESQUE,

Who travelled many years in the United States, to discover the most efficient Medical Plants.

Also, a choice collection of Miscellaneous Books, and a variety of Entertaining and Instructive Books for Children.

FOR SALE CHEAP,

FACSIMILE OF A BROADSIDE,

19x24 inches, distributed to advertise the sale of the personal effects of Rafinesque.

daughter, Emily, and the children, Jules and Laura, were made the beneficiaries of the will jointly with various philanthropic proposals. Professor John Torrey, Dr. James Mease, Professor James Green, with others were named as executors. The will was probated November 16, 1840, and was signed as executor by James Mease, November 28, 1840.

The will provided for private sale but not much if any attention was paid to its provisions. The personal effects, said to have amounted to eight dray loads, were taken to the auction rooms of the city. Large three-colored posters were distributed announcing the sale. Connoisseurs were on hand and heartily helped themselves much to their liking. The sale was so managed that the estate was indebted to the administrator in the modest sum of fourteen dollars and forty-three cents.

In summing up it may be stated that Rafinesque was no ordinary man. He had rather well defined opinions of the theory of evolution, thus antedating Darwin. He had some idea of the modern germ theory of disease. He was a pioneer in American Archaeological investigation, a pioneer teacher of modern languages, and a pioneer object teacher. He was an earnest advocate of the natural classification in natural sciences while all of his contemporaries held to the old Linnean artificial system. He was also the inventor of the coupon system. What more is needed to distinguish a man from the common lot?

General George W. Jones of Dubuque, Iowa, a student at Transylvania University from 1821 to 1825 has left the following account of his teacher, Rafinesque:

I recollect the learned Professor Rafinesque perfectly well and his physiognomy and general appearance are now visible to my mind's eye. He was in personal stature about the size and appearance of my deceased friend, the late John Quincy Adams, but I think he had a full suit of hair and black eyes. . . . Professor Rafinesque had a room in college proper, and was a man of peculiar habits and was very eccentric, but was to me one of the most interesting men I have ever known.

He often lectured to the students in college and in a most entertaining manner to the great delight of his audiences. His lecture on the ants

was peculiarly instructive and interesting, causing many of the students to laugh heartily when he gave us the history of ants, especially when he described them as having lawyers, doctors, generals and privates, and of their having great battles and the care by physicians and nurses of the wounded, etc., etc. . . . I would now give any reasonable sum to hear him repeat one of his lectures that I listened to in Transylvania University.*

This was written in 1894, seventy years after the occurrences. Rafinesque evidently made an impression. He is frequently referred to as eccentric, sometimes in a disparaging tone. Critics seem to forget that eccentricity may be found in every university in the land and some of the cases are very pronounced.

President Jordan in speaking of Rafinesque says:

Nevertheless, no more remarkable figure has ever appeared in the annals of science. . . . American naturalists have greater honor now than forty years ago. Rafinesque died unnoticed and was buried only by stealth. A whole nation wept for Agassiz. But a difference was in the men as well as in the times. Both were great naturalists and learned men. Both had left high reputations in Europe to cast their lot with America. Agassiz's great heart went out toward everyone with whom he came in contact. But Rafinesque loved no man or woman, and died, as he had lived, alone.†

The last sentence is not quite correct.

IOWA CITY, IOWA, Sept. 1, 1905.

LO! THE POOR INDIANS.—Two swarthy sons of the forest appeared in the House yesterday morning, and attracted the universal attention of the members. They are a delegation of 43 from the tribe of Pottawattamies, who want the permission of the State to be allowed to settle in Marshall county. The citizens of that flourishing county are willing, and petition the legislature in their behalf. They are very peaceable and intelligent for Indians, and are ready to purchase farms for cultivation.—*The Iowa Citizen (Des Moines)*, Feb. 25, 1858.

* Call, *Life and Writings of Rafinesque*, pp. 43, 64.

† *Popular Science Monthly*, vol. 29, pp. 212, 221.

THE PASSING OF AN IOWA INDUSTRY.

Dispatches from Clinton which a few days ago announced the demolition of the last lumber mill in South Clinton will bring reminiscences to many middle aged people of the flush days of a great Iowa industry. Older travelers over the Northwestern railroad will recall the monstrous piles of sawed lumber that covered the river front, and the long banks of logs that lay inside their booms for miles along the shores of the river. Now the passer-by sees only scattered piles of worm eaten and weather beaten lumber. The long herds of saw logs have disappeared from the river sides, and the lumber industry which was once the business of Clinton, has become a mere memory.

There were millions in it in the earlier days when the river ran from Beef Slough south to Davenport untrammelled by bridges, and offered a clear passage for the monstrous rafts manned by their crews of turbulent river drivers who guided and controlled the massed acres of logs by long sweeps at bow and stern. The current furnished the motive power. The untamable raftsmen steered by day and rioted by night. They owned the towns where they tied up by right of physical conquest. They were the remnant of the old flat boat type of the early river days, the successors of Mike McCool and the goths of the lower river. There were dead men drifting in the turbid currents of the river and lying along shore where the old raftsmen held their sway. But they brought the logs for the lumber that built the early homes and fenced the prairies of Illinois and Iowa. Every town had its lumber mill. The river front was rife with the screams of big seven foot rotaries tearing away the slabs and rush of the gangs as they turned solid logs into boards and dimension timbers. Later the band saws took the place of the big frame work of the gang saws, and raft boats displaced the roaring drunken crews of raftsmen. Still the logs came

down the river, the saws hummed and the mill owners and the mill hands profited.

Tens of thousands of working men came marching up the main streets of Clinton, Dubuque, Davenport and the other river cities while the logs lasted, each with his dinner pail on his arm, and the fresh, clean smell of pine sawdust on his garments. Money was plenty in the river towns, because every man was busy. The mill men became millionaires. Whole cities were built upon the sawdust. But the lumber industry in Iowa has gone where the pine forests of Wisconsin went years ago. Clinton where Young's great mill was the largest in the world has been forced to find other employment. Not one thousand feet of pine lumber is produced in Iowa today where a million feet were cut twenty-five years ago. The raft boats have fallen to the excursion business. The mills are being torn down and a great Iowa industry has gone south to the long leaf pine forests.—*Marshalltown Times-Republican*, November 25, 1904.

ABOUT a mile below our encampment we passed Floyd's bluff and river, fourteen miles from the Maha village. Sergeant Floyd was of the party of Lewis and Clark, and was highly esteemed by them and his loss much regretted. The place of his interment is marked by a wooden cross, which may be seen by navigators at a considerable distance. The grave occupies a beautiful rising ground, now covered with grass and wild flowers. The pretty little river, which bears his name, is neatly fringed with willow and shrubbery. Involuntary tribute was paid to the spot, by the feelings even of the most thoughtless as we passed by. It is several years since he was buried there; no one has disturbed the cross which marks the grave; even the Indians who pass venerate the place, and often leave a present or offering near it. Brave, adventurous youth! thou art not forgotten—for

although thy bones are deposited far from thy native home,
in the desert-waste, yet the eternal silence of the plain shall
mourn thee, and memory will dwell upon thy grave!

* * * In the evening we passed the grave of
Floyd, and for a moment we thought it proper to

“.....suspend the dashing oar,
To bid his gentle spirit rest”.

—*Early Western Travels, Brackenridge, vol. 6, pp. 85
and 150.*

THE EASTERN SHORE OF IOWA, AS SEEN FROM ROCK ISLAND, IN 1829.

The Mississippi is here a clear and rapid river, flowing over beds of rock and gravel, and bordered by the most lovely shores. Nothing of the kind can be more attractive than the scenery on the Upper Rapids, in the vicinity of the Sauk and Fox village. On the western shore, a series of slopes are seen commencing at the gravelly edge of the water, rising one above another with a barely perceptible acclivity for a considerable distance, until the background is terminated by a chain of beautifully rounded hills, over which trees are thinly scattered as if planted by the hand of art. This is the charm of prairie scenery; although a wilderness, as nature made it, it has no savage nor repulsive feature; the verdant carpet, the gracefully waving outlines of the surface, the clumps, the groves, the scattered trees, give it the appearance of a noble park, boundless in extent, adorned with exquisite taste. It is a wild but blooming desert, that does not awe by its gloom, but is gay and cheerful, winning by its social aspect, as well as by its variety and intrinsic gracefulness.—*Thomas L. McKenney, History of the Indian Tribes, Phil. 1855, vol. 2, p. 14.*

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

THE INDIAN CHIEF APPANOOSE.

The accounts which have come down to us in regard to this chief, who was so distinguished in his day that his name was given to one of the counties of our State, are very meager. McKenney and Hall, in their great work (folio edition, p. 58) on the North American Indians, give him less than a page of biography. His portrait—a fine large lithograph, colored by hand—shows him to have been a very good looking Indian, not so much addicted to the use of paint and feathers as many of the chiefs whose homes were on Iowa soil. His name signifies “A chief when a child,” from which it has been inferred that his position came to him by inheritance. Judge A. R. Fulton in his “Red Men of Iowa,” says that he was a man of quiet disposition, much beloved by his people, and that it had been stated that he had four wives. Of his early life nothing definite is known. He was opposed to Blackhawk, favoring the peace policy of Keokuk, desiring to be friendly with the whites. He once lived on the Iowa river, but when the Sacs and Foxes removed to the valley of the Des Moines, he established his village on land now within the limits of the city of Ottumwa. The buildings of the C., B. & Q. R. R. are said to stand upon the ground which was in the corn fields of Appanoose and his band. In 1837 he visited the east in the company taken thither by Gen. J. M. Street, including Blackhawk, Keokuk, Wapello, and other noted Indians. While in the city of Boston they were taken to Faneuil Hall and other places of interest, and were given a reception at the State House. After the addresses of Gov.



APPANOOSE.

"A Peace Chief who presided over a village of the Sauks." His home was within the present city limits of Ottumwa. One of the richest Iowa counties perpetuates his name.

Edward Everett, Keokuk, Wapello and others, Appanoose spoke as follows:

BROTHERS:—You have heard just now what my chief has to say. All our chiefs and warriors are very much gratified by our visit to this town. Last Saturday they were invited to a great house (Faneuil Hall), and now they are in the great council-house (the Capitol). They are very much pleased with so much attention. This we cannot reward you for now, but shall not forget it, and hope the Great Spirit will reward you for it. This is the place which our forefathers once inhabited. I have often heard my father and grandfather say they lived near the sea-coast where the white men first came. I am glad to hear all this from you. I suppose it is put in a book, where you learn all these things. As far as I can understand the language of the white people, it appears to me that the Americans have attained a very high rank among white people. It is the same with us, though I say it myself. Where we live, beyond the Mississippi, I am respected by all people, and they consider me the tallest among them. I am happy that two great men meet and shake hands with each other.

Appanoose then shook hands with Gov. Everett "amid shouts of applause from the audience, who were not a little amused at the self-complacency of the orator." A Boston paper speaking of this affair said:

We have taken pains to give the speeches of the Indian Chiefs with verbal accuracy, as a matter of high intellectual curiosity. History, romance and poetry, have embodied the Indian character to our perceptions from childhood. It is pleasant, therefore, to see the original, and find how accurate the picture has been. The language, ideas, and style of these Indians are precisely such as have been ascribed to their race. There is much to admire in the simple and manly manner in which they convey their ideas. He must be a churl who does not associate with their visit here, objects of philanthropy and protection to their race.

In connection with his portrait M'Kenney and Hall print his name in four syllables, spelling it "Ap-pa-noo-sa." This would imply that the name was so pronounced by the Indians, but changed to "Appanoose" by the whites. The portrait which we present with this article is copied from the work to which we have referred.

A FORGOTTEN NATURALIST.

We have given a large space in this number of *THE ANNALS* to an article by Mr. T. J. Fitzpatrick, on the life and labors of C. S. Rafinesque, one of the most learned and versatile original investigators in the great field of American natural history. Excepting to those who have been engaged in the same studies, the name of this traveler, explorer and scientist, has long been practically unknown. Some account of his life and labors has appeared from time to time, but these works have been published in limited editions, now out of print, and not within the reach of either general or scientific readers. It has seemed desirable that *THE ANNALS* should contain a record of his life and writings. Mr. Fitzpatrick, who has doubtless collected more books and papers relating to Rafinesque than any other man in the west, supplies the information in the article now published, which will be followed by a complete bibliography of his publications. Rafinesque was a most interesting character, eccentric, but very learned. He has been and still is a subject of much controversy, touching the merit of his work, but he assuredly has a fixed place in the annals of natural history. A most interesting quotation is made in this article from the late Gen. George W. Jones, of this State, who was a student under Prof. Rafinesque in Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky. This article points the way to sources of information for those who would make a comprehensive study of his life and writings.

COLONEL THOMAS COX.

Until recently this Iowa pioneer, well known in his time, had long since ceased to occupy a place in the public mind. Indeed, he was practically forgotten, though his name continued to appear in the lists of our territorial legislators. Before coming to Iowa he had been elected to both branches

of the State legislature of Illinois. He was appointed Register of the U. S. Land Office at Springfield and had held several other important positions in that State. He was also a volunteer in the Blackhawk war. He came to Iowa in 1837 and was for a time surveyor of public lands. It is understood that he subdivided ten townships in Jackson county, settling on a claim or farm some four miles from the city of Maquoketa. He was a member of the house of representatives of the first, second and third territorial legislatures, in the last of which he served as speaker. In 1842 he was elected to the territorial council, the term being two years. He was elected president of that body in the last term of his service, the office of lieutenant governor not having been created. The contest must have been a spirited one, as he was chosen on the forty-first ballot. He died on his claim November 9, 1844, and was buried under a hickory tree which still stands near the site of his log cabin.

During the early part of the present year his remains were removed to the Mt. Hope Cemetery in Maquoketa, the new grave being marked by a granite boulder, which bears the following inscription: "Thomas Cox, 1787-1844. Pioneer Law Maker." The unveiling and dedication of the monument took place on the 4th day of July under the auspices of the Pioneers and the Historical Society of Jackson County. The opening prayer was made by Rev. Dr. Wm. Salter, of Burlington, who preached the funeral sermon of Col. Cox 61 years ago, at which time he was pastor of the Congregational church of Maquoketa. An excellent address was delivered by Hon. George L. Mitchell, who paid a high tribute to Col. Cox. The monument was unveiled by Mrs. H. G. Dorchester, of Bellevue, Jackson county, a daughter of Col. William A. Warren, a distinguished pioneer of that county who was also a member of the constitutional convention of 1857. After these exercises the procession returned to the city where the old settlers and visitors reassembled in the Armory. The assemblage was called to order by W. C.

Gregory, President of the Old Settlers Association. Some further exercises were held, consisting of music and remarks by different gentlemen present. Dr. Salter delivered a brief address containing interesting reminiscences of his life in Maquoketa, and of the circumstances connected with the death and burial of Col. Cox.

The idea of thus honoring the memory of this distinguished pioneer originated with Mr. Harvey Reid, of Maquoketa, whose indefatigable researches were rewarded by obtaining a complete historical account of the life and public services of Col. Cox, both in Illinois and Iowa. He was assisted in this work by Mr. J. W. Ellis, Secretary of the Jackson County Historical Society. This was a most important day in the history of that city and county, for a splendid beginning has been made in placing upon record the early history of that region. Mr. Reid intends to publish a pamphlet containing a full account of the life of Col. Cox, the removal of his remains and the dedication of the monument. He will also prepare an article for this magazine which will be illustrated with a portrait of the pioneer lawmaker.

THE HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT AT ST. LOUIS.

Suggestions came from many quarters that the Historical Department should make an exhibit at St. Louis. A concurrent resolution was passed by the legislature which authorized the Executive Council "to prepare for shipment to St. Louis such articles as they may decide to be suitable for an exhibit from the historical department of Iowa." Upon investigating the matter it was found that only a limited space could be secured for this purpose. The items enumerated below were therefore selected and forwarded by express under the immediate charge of Mr. Charles A. Cumming, a well known artist of Des Moines. Quarters for the exhibit had been secured in a fire-proof building in the care of W J McGee, the distinguished chief of the department of an-

thropology. Mr. Cumming superintended the hanging of the portraits and the arrangement of the books, manuscripts and maps. The exhibit attracted much attention and was safely guarded by Prof. McGee and the Iowa Commission, to all of whom much credit is due. The "Jury of History", made the following awards, which were confirmed by the "Superior Jury:"

To the State of Iowa, a grand prize for its exhibit of historical objects—a medal and diploma.

To Charles Aldrich, Curator of the Department, a collaborator's gold medal and diploma.

Also to the same a bronze medal and diploma for the exhibit of a ceremonial grooved axe.

To Charles A. Cumming, a collaborator's silver medal and diploma, awarded to him for his services "with the Iowa State Historical Exhibit."

The following is a list of the articles sent to the St. Louis Exposition by the Historical Department of Iowa:

OIL PORTRAITS.

Governors of Iowa Territory.—Robert Lucas, John Chambers, James Clark.

Governors of the State of Iowa.—Ansel Briggs, Stephen Hempstead, James W. Grimes, Ralph P. Lowe, Samuel J. Kirkwood, William M. Stone, Samuel Merrill, Cyrus C. Carpenter, Francis M. Drake, as Brig. Gen.

Other Portraits.—William B. Allison, Gen. G. M. Dodge, James Harlan, Samuel F. Miller, Charles Aldrich.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF IOWA.

Annals of Iowa, 3d series, 5 volumes, bound in three-quarters red levant, 1893-1903.

Six Biennial Reports of the Historical Department of Iowa, bound in one volume, 1893-1903.

Iowa Territorial Laws, 1838-39, 1839-40, 2 volumes, republished.

Richman, Irving B. "John Brown among the Quakers and Other Sketches."

First Census of the Original Counties of Dubuque and Des Moines, 1836, 2 pamphlets.

Shambaugh, Benjamin F. "History of the Constitutions of Iowa." 1902.

Legislative Journals, extra session, 1840, now first published.

IOWA BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS.

Journal of the Convention for the Formation of a Constitution for the State of Iowa, 1844.

Journal of the Convention for the Formation of a Constitution for the State of Iowa, 1846.

Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Iowa, 1857. Larrabee, Governor William. Original manuscript, first inaugural address, 1886.

Tuttle, James M., Correspondence of, during the Civil War.

Letters of the Territorial Governors of Iowa, 2 volumes. The official copies.

Street, Gen. Joseph Montfort, illustrious friend of the Indians, correspondence of, 1806-1834.

Carpenter, Ex-Governor Cyrus C. Address at the unveiling of the Spirit Lake tablet at Webster City, also sketch of Maj. William Williams. The original manuscripts.

Clarke, William Penn, Reporter of the Supreme Court of Iowa, correspondence of, 3 volumes, 1844-1866.

MISCELLANEOUS MANUSCRIPTS.

Crabbe, Rev. George, English Poet, Manuscript Sermon.

White, Rev. Gilbert, author of the "Natural History of Selbourne." Manuscript Sermon.

Forman, Maj. Samuel S. Original manuscript, "Narrative of a Journey Down the Ohio and Mississippi in 1798-90." By Lyman C. Draper of Wisconsin.

Aldrich, Thomas Bailey. Original manuscript, "Two Bites at a Cherry."

Audubon, John James. Original manuscript, "Habits of the Wild Turkey."

Cleveland, Grover. Original manuscript (17 pages) speech before the New York Charities Aid Association, 1891.

FOURTEEN EARLY MAPS AND MAPS INCLUDING IOWA.

Extrait d'un globe terrestre le Pere Le Grand de Dijon 1720 (Said to be earliest map including what is now Iowa.)

Facsimile of an autograph map of the Mississippi or Conception river drawn by Father Marquette at the time of his voyage.

Map of part of Wisconsin territory, compiled from Tanner's map, 1836.

Map of Wisconsin territory. Published by Henry J. Abel, 1838.

Sectional map of the Black Hawk Purchase, with a part of Illinois and Wisconsin, by L. Judson, 1838.

Map of Iowa published by J. H. Colton, 1839.

Hydrographical basin of the Upper Mississippi river from surveys and information by J. N. Nicollet, 1836-40. Reduced and compiled in 1843.

Galland's map of Iowa. Compiled from the latest authorities, by Dr. I. Galland, 1840.

Map of the surveyed part of Iowa Territory, exhibiting the location of Iowa City, the seat of government as established by the Commissioners, 4th of May, 1839. Published by John Plumb.

Map of the western part of the U. S., shows Fort Des Moines, in Iowa.

New map of Iowa accompanied with notes by W. Barrows. Cincinnati, 1845.

Map of Iowa by L. Matzinger, 1850.

AN IOWA STONE AXE.

This axe was found near Columbus Junction, Louisa county, Iowa. Its weight is 31 $\frac{3}{4}$ pounds.

No effort was spared by the Executive Council of Iowa, in providing for the selection and safe shipment to and from St. Louis of the articles above enumerated. Every item was returned in as good condition as when it left the Historical Building.

THE POLITICAL CRISIS IN THE IOWA LEGISLATURE, JANUARY, 1855.

The following correspondence was preserved among the papers of the late George Frazee (a notice of his life is in *THE ANNALS* VI, 639). Ebenezer Cook, of Davenport, and Milton D. Browning, of Burlington, were Whig candidates for U. S. Senator, but could not get the Free Soil vote, which went to James Harlan, of Mt. Pleasant, and he was elected. The contest of James C. Jordan for his seat in the State Senate was decided later in his favor.

IOWA CITY, IOWA, 6th Jan'y, 1855.

DEAR FRAZEE:—The thing you spoke of in your letter was attempted to-day, but "the cock would not fight." The great "National wing of the Whig party" has literally "busted," and the remains of Cook and Browning are scattered to the four winds. So mote it be.

Wright and Woodward are already elected Judges of the Supreme Court. There is trouble about the third, but something satisfactory will be done. I still have hopes of a Senator, but I cannot indicate the man yet. There has been more lying, cheating, swindling and corruption here this winter than was ever conceived of in my philosophy. The democrats do not seem to have any principles, not even the "five loaves and two small fishes." They openly confess that Jordan is entitled to his seat, yet refuse to give it to him. They have sacrificed all their self-respect, and nobody has any respect for them.

Yours truly in haste,

JAMES W. GRIMES.

MT. PLEASANT, JAN. 13th, 1855.

DEAR SIR:—Yours of the 30th Dec., '54, was received by me at Iowa City—and now it is only necessary for me to say that your frankness in suggesting to me the true policy to be pursued by "a Whig" under the contingency suggested, adds another reason for my increased regard.

A man who has the frankness to advise his friend to a course that may conflict with his aspirations, is worthy of the highest consideration.

It is due to me however to state that my friends understood me to occupy the position indicated by you, *from the first*. And it so happened in this case, as it generally does, that what *Honor* required was in strict accordance with interest. For when my friends gave those, who had supported my election but coldly, and Whigs who openly opposed them in this regard, to understand that, although no principle of party usage could require it, yet that my name should be withdrawn if necessary to secure an election,—it was soon ascertained to be much more difficult to harmonize on any one else.

With high considerations of respect,

Yours truly,

GEORGE FRAZEE,
BURLINGTON, IOWA.

JAMES HARLAN.

IOWA STATE ATLAS IN ERROR.

EDITOR ANNALS:—The Iowa State Atlas, published a year ago by the Iowa Publishing Co., of Davenport, in its historical sketches of the counties of the state did not give Boone county a "square deal."

In the first paragraph the statement is made that "Squaw Creek is a tributary of the Des Moines river." Squaw Creek runs across the north-east corner of Boone county, and thence in a southeasterly direction, and empties into the Skunk river a short distance south of Ames in Story county.

In the third paragraph appears the following: "Along the west side of Honey Creek was early discovered a chain of mounds, nine in number, of the same appearance as others found in various parts of the West, evidently burial places for the dead in the age of the Mound Builders." The mounds above referred to are on the west side of the Des Moines river, while Honey Creek is on the east side.

The first sentence of the sixth paragraph reads as follows: "The first settlement in the county was made at a place called Pea's Point, a strip of prairie running into the timber on the east side of the Des Moines river just south of where Boonsboro was afterwards located." Pea's Point is not a point of prairie, but a point of timber, and it is at least three miles from the point of prairie above referred to.

The second sentence of the same paragraph reads as follows: "The first settlers were John Pea, James Hull, Jr., John M. Crooks, Samuel H. Bowers and Thomas Sparks."

The persons here named were not the first settlers of Boone county, nor was the first settlement made at Pea's Point. It has been a long settled fact, that C. W. Gaston was the first settler of Boone county, and that he settled near the south line of the county on the east bank of the Des Moines river, about two and a half miles southwest of the present town of Madrid. □ The writer of this article was well acquainted with C. W. Gaston and John Pea, the man after whom Pea's Point was named, both of whom are now dead. On more than one occasion has the writer heard each of these men give the dates of their settlement in the county. C. W. Gaston gave the date of January 12, 1846. There are no less than half a dozen men still living in Madrid and vicinity, who have heard C. W. Gaston give the above named date as the one on which he arrived in Boone county and began the erection of his log cabin. The writer and others he can name have heard John Pea state that he arrived at the point of timber which afterwards bore his name, in the latter part of April, 1846. These dates show that C. W. Gaston had been in the county over three months before John Pea and the parties who came with him arrived at Pea's Point.

Further along in this sketch the name of the Sioux Indian chief killed by Henry Lott, is given as Sim-an-e-do-lah, and the time of the killing the winter of 1852-53. The correct name of this chief was Si-dom-i-na-do-tah* and the time of the killing was February, 1854.

In relation to the location of the county seat the following occurs: "The town was laid out by order of the county commissioners and named Boonsboro. Its location is a little north of the center of the county on the Des Moines river."

This is another mistake that misleads. Boonsboro was located on the northwest fourth of section twenty-nine, township eighty-four, range twenty-six, and on the prairie three miles east of the Des Moines river.

As a lover of correct history and a citizen of Boone county during the past fifty-two years, the writer begs enough of your space to publish the foregoing.

Madrid, Iowa.

C. L. LUCAS.

* For further information concerning Si-dom-i-na-do-tah see ANNALS OF IOWA, p. 133, vol. I, and pp. 151 and 160, vol. II.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

JAMES C. SAVERY was born at Wareham, Mass., Nov. 30, 1826; he died at Cable, a mining town in Montana, Aug. 21, 1905. He was descended from one of the Pilgrim Fathers, who came over in 1620. During his early life his family resided at Saratoga, N. Y. He came to Des Moines about the year 1855, where he made his home. Des Moines continued to be his home during the whole of his long life, though business interests compelled him to reside for long periods, at various times, in New York City and the Rocky mountains. He was a man possessed of great business capacity, always active and alert in whatever engaged his attention. In the later fifties and early sixties the capital of Iowa did not possess a more energetic citizen. His business enterprises, for the most part, were successful. It is understood, however, that he won and lost more than one handsome fortune. He seemed to acquire wealth easily, but his interest in its acquisition kept him ever seeking new fields for its investment. This led to many losses. He built two first-class hotels in Des Moines, the old "Savery," now the "Kirkwood," and the new "Savery," both of which have been favorites with the people who travel. He was also a member of the American Emigrant Company, a corporation organized to facilitate the settlement of lands it had acquired in northwestern Iowa. In this he was associated with F. C. D. McKay and Talmage E. Brown. This organization undoubtedly was instrumental in bringing many persons seeking homes into that section of the State. Latterly, Mr. Savery had been engaged in developing a gold mine at the place where he died. This enterprise had become one of considerable promise, and it has been understood that he had again become a millionaire. In the old days, say of the war period and earlier, the Savery home in Des Moines was a center of attraction. His first wife, a lady of English parentage, was well educated, sparkling and bright, a leader in the society at that time. The Saverys were distinguished for their generous hospitality and wide influence. Whatever contributed to the welfare of the young city was always certain to elicit their deep interest. In accordance with Mr. Savery's wishes his remains were brought back to his old home and laid to rest with those of his wife and three brothers.

WARREN BECKWITH was born in Henrietta, Monroe county, N. Y., in 1833; he died at Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, July 17, 1905. He was educated at Monroe Academy, and at the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary, at Lima, N. Y. He left school at the age of 19, having adopted the profession of civil engineer. His first work was on the Genesee Valley Railroad. He followed this work in the east until 1854, when he migrated to Kansas, and at Ft. Riley helped to lay out Pawnee City, which was designed by Governor Reeder for the capital of the State. He assisted in erecting a building for the legislature, which, however, was occupied but one day. He became a friend and intimate associate of Nathaniel Lyon, who was then a Captain in the regular army, and was afterwards killed at Wilson's Creek, Mo., while heading a charge of the 1st Iowa Infantry. In 1856 he settled at Burlington, where he entered the employ of the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad, with which he stayed until 1859, when he engaged in business in Texas. He was there when the civil war broke out and at once came north and offered his services to the government. He enlisted as a private in Co. C, 4th Iowa Cavalry, in which he served until the close of the war. Four months later he was promoted to First Lieutenant, and on January 1, 1863, was made Captain of his Company. He served under Gen. Curtis in southwestern Missouri, and later joined Gen. Grant's army on the march to Vicksburg, where he participated in the siege of that stronghold. He was with Gen. Sherman on the Meridian expedition in 1864.

He was not mustered out until August 29, 1865, after a most creditable career in the army of four years, during which time he was constantly in active service. At this time he was offered a commission in the regular army, which he did not accept. He returned to Mt. Pleasant, where he was employed by the C., B. & Q. R. R. Co. In this field of effort he rose to a prominent and responsible position. He became a railroad contractor in 1879, and followed that business for several years. Upon his retirement he engaged in farming, stock-raising and manufacturing. He was one of the most prominent citizens in southern Iowa, a man of high character and great usefulness.

WILLIAM M. MCFARLAND was born in Posey county, Ind., April 1, 1848; he died in St. Paul, Minn., July 15, 1905. He was graduated at the Wesleyan University, at Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, in 1873. Shortly afterward he started *The Brooklyn (Iowa) Chronicle*, with which he continued until 1884, when he removed to Estherville, Emmet county, where he engaged in the publication of *The Vindicator*. He was elected to represent his county in the house of representatives of the 22d general assembly, and re-elected two years later. In 1890 he was elected Secretary of State. He held this office three terms. Mr. McFarland was a man of decided ability, and in whatever public position he occupied created a most favorable impression. He was able and versatile as an editor, active and influential in the legislature, growing constantly in the public esteem until he reached the second office in the gift of the people of the State. At one time it seemed not improbable that he would easily reach the governorship. He possessed many elements of popularity. He was a model of hearty cordiality in his address, a graceful and pleasing writer, and a ready and eloquent speaker. To these qualities he added the wide and versatile information which distinguishes the born journalist. That he was three times elected to the high office of Secretary of State speaks volumes regarding the estimate placed upon his character and ability. Retiring from this last position, he settled in Indianola, where he resided at the time of his death. The last few years of his life had been devoted to editorial work, or to traveling in various business interests. He died very suddenly in St. Paul as he was entering a private car bound for Des Moines. His death was attributed to heart failure.

JOHN H. KEATLEY was born in Center county, Pa., Dec. 1, 1838; he died at Washington, D. C., June 20, 1905. Col. Keatley grew up on a farm and educated himself through his own exertions. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1860. Soon after commencing his legal practice he became editor of *The Blair County Whig*, a newspaper which supported the administration of Abraham Lincoln. When the call for 300,000 volunteers came, he enlisted in the 125th Pa. Infantry, which was soon after engaged in the second battle of Bull Run, at South Mountain, and Antietam. He participated in the Gettysburg campaign, where he was assistant adjutant general on the staff of Gen. Higgins. Later, he was actively engaged in the campaigns with General Grant which resulted in the capture of Gen. Lee and his army. After the war he was connected for a time with the freedman's bureau for five counties in southeastern Virginia, and later became a judge in the military court at Norfolk. He removed to Iowa in 1867, locating at Cedar Falls. In 1868 he settled in Council Bluffs, where he became editor of *The Nonpareil*, serving until April, 1870. In the campaign of 1872 he supported Horace Greeley for President against Gen. Grant. He ran for attorney-general in 1874, and in 1878 for congress in the 8th district, but was both times defeated. In 1876 he was chosen Mayor of Council Bluffs. In 1892 he was appointed commandant of the Iowa Soldiers' Home at Marshalltown, which position he held for two

years. Since he retired from the Soldiers' Home he has held a civil service position in the Treasury Department at Washington. Col. Keatley was an active and influential politician, a man of very considerable ability, who made an excellent record in the public positions which he held from time to time. He was one of the well known editors of this State.

HENRY NIELANDER was born in Detmold, Germany, May 26, 1833; he died at Lansing, Iowa, June 14, 1905. He came to this country in 1851 and spent the first year in Waupun, Wis. He went to Galena, Ill., the following year where he served as a clerk in a mercantile establishment. He came to Iowa in 1854 and settled at Lansing, entering upon a successful career as a merchant and banker. He was a stockholder in the First National Bank during its entire career, and President of the Allamakee Savings Bank. His business transactions became very large. In 1879 he was elected to the State senate from the 41st district, serving the regular term of four years. He had previously served a term as Mayor of Lansing. It gave Mr. Nielander great pleasure to relate that in the early sixties, "Marshall Field, the dry goods prince, Philip Armour, the great packer, M. D. Wells, of boot and shoe fame, were all knights of the grip and called regularly at his store, using the same persuasive arguments to sell their respective wares that their less renowned successors continue to employ at this time." In his prosperous days he became quite a traveler. He crossed the ocean no less than five times to visit his old home. *The Allamakee Journal* says that "he was a man of sterling character, upright, and the soul of honor. Beneath a sometimes rugged exterior there was always a liberal, generous, sympathetic soul. He enjoyed the high confidence of his fellow men, because he was governed by a strict regard to the dictates of conscience, and he never shaded the truth to please anybody. He was courageous, energetic, optimistic, uncomplaining and always cheerful. He was kind to children and enjoyed their prattle and loved their company."

ROYAL H. BARNHART was born in Chautauqua county, N. Y., October 16, 1833; he died in Chicago, whither he had gone for medical treatment, Aug. 19, 1905. Mr. Barnhart was an apprentice in the office of *The Jamestown* (Chautauqua county) *Journal*, when it was published by F. W. Palmer and E. P. Upham, back in the early fifties. He came to Iowa in 1854, settling at first in Dubuque, but the following year removed to Marshalltown, where he lived the remainder of his life. He was for a time partner of E. N. Chapin, in *The Iowa Central Journal*, the first paper published in Marshall county. He established *The Marshall County Times*, the lineal predecessor of the present *Times-Republican*, but sold it to W. H. Gallup, and engaged in the drug business with R. Howe Taylor. Mr. Barnhart was a good printer of the old school, and had performed all of the labors from roller-boy to editor incident to the country office of those times. He was very retiring in his habits and it was said that he repeatedly refused to accept public office. Hon. F. W. Palmer, who knew him well as a boy, and from that time to the end of his life, always spoke in highly appreciative terms of Royal Barnhart. His remains were returned to Marshalltown and the funeral took place on Monday, the 21st of August.

MRS. ELIZABETH D. ADAMS was born in Hanover, N. H., Jan. 1, 1821; she died in Waterloo, Iowa, July 12, 1905. Her maiden name was Elizabeth Douglas. She was married to the Rev. Ephraim Adams, Sept. 16, 1845, at her home in Hanover. Shortly after their marriage the couple came west and settled in Davenport. Mr. Adams became quite widely known as a member of the "Iowa Band" of nine young Congregational clergymen who volunteered for work in the then territory of Iowa. Of the

"Iowa Band" only Rev. Messrs. Adams of Waterloo and Salter of Burlington are now living. Mr. Adams held pastorates in several towns and was for a time connected with Iowa College at Grinnell. Both himself and wife became widely known throughout the State. No pioneer woman who lived and died in Iowa was more widely known or more thoroughly esteemed. This was especially true of the members of their church organization and the students of Iowa College.

SETH H. CRAIG was born in Millersburg, Ohio, in 1825; he died in Council Bluffs, Iowa, August 1, 1905, survived by his wife, Sarah A. Craig. Capt. Craig came to Iowa in 1856. He was sheriff of Pottawattamie county in the late '50s; was the first captain of the Dodge Light Guards, a local militia organization; entered the army as captain of Co. B, 4th Iowa Infantry and was later a member of the 3rd Wisconsin Cavalry. Mr. Craig was also a Mexican War Veteran, receiving a pension for that service. He was warden of the Fort Madison Penitentiary for a term of six years. In 1884 he removed to Wymose, Gage county, Nebraska, where he was postmaster for several years. Later he was elected mayor of that city. He also held the office of county judge, filling out the unexpired term of a former judge. For several years past, and until his death, Mr. Craig had been again a resident of Council Bluffs. He was in 1903 commander of Abe Lincoln Post, G. A. R. His remains were taken to Farmington, Iowa, for burial.

DELL STUART was born in Zanesville, Ohio, in 1849; he died in Portland, Oregon, July 30, 1905. He came with his family to Iowa in his early youth, their first settlement being in Monroe county, but before the civil war they removed to Lucas county. He studied law with his brother T. M. Stuart, of Chariton, and became prominent in that part of the State as an able and successful lawyer. He was elected Judge of the circuit court in 1882 and re-elected in 1886, but resigned before his second term expired. After a residence of more than twenty years in Chariton, he removed to the Pacific coast and settled in Portland, where he again entered upon the practice of the law, and was eminently successful.

WILLIAM D. BOIES was born near Buffalo, N. Y., Aug. 24, 1819; he died in Independence, Iowa, Sept. 2, 1905. He was a brother of Ex-Governor Boies, and one of the oldest settlers of Buchanan county. He was a large farmer and achieved a very good measure of success. His sons have become extensive land owners in Buchanan county. He has the credit of establishing the first cheese factory in that part of the State and became well known from the excellence of his products. His life was one of great activity and usefulness. He gave up his work about five years ago, and until his death resided in Independence.

NARCISSA MACY SMITH was born in Greensboro, Indiana, January 7, 1834; she died at Woodward, Iowa, August 15, 1905. She was the wife of Hon. D. W. Smith, ex-deputy secretary of State and ex-deputy treasurer of State. She came to Iowa with her parents who settled in Springdale, Cedar county, in 1862. She was reared in the religion of the Friends. She was a woman of broad sympathies and strong intellectuality, and during her long married life was active in philanthropic and reform work, never, however, relinquishing her devotion to family and home.

WILLIAM G. KENT was born in Centre county, Pa., August 10, 1837; he died in Ft. Madison, Iowa, Feb. 20, 1905. He came to Lee county, Iowa, with his parents in 1842. He served as county superintendent of schools for two terms and was a member of the State senate in the 22d, 23d and 24th general assemblies. His father, Josiah Kent, was a member of the constitutional convention of 1846.



Thomas Cox
Speaker of the House

THOMAS COX.

From photograph of oil painting made when he was twenty-six years old. The painting was imperfectly restored after being injured in the long trip across the plains to California. Cox was six feet one inch in height, of dark complexion, with black hair and eyes.